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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
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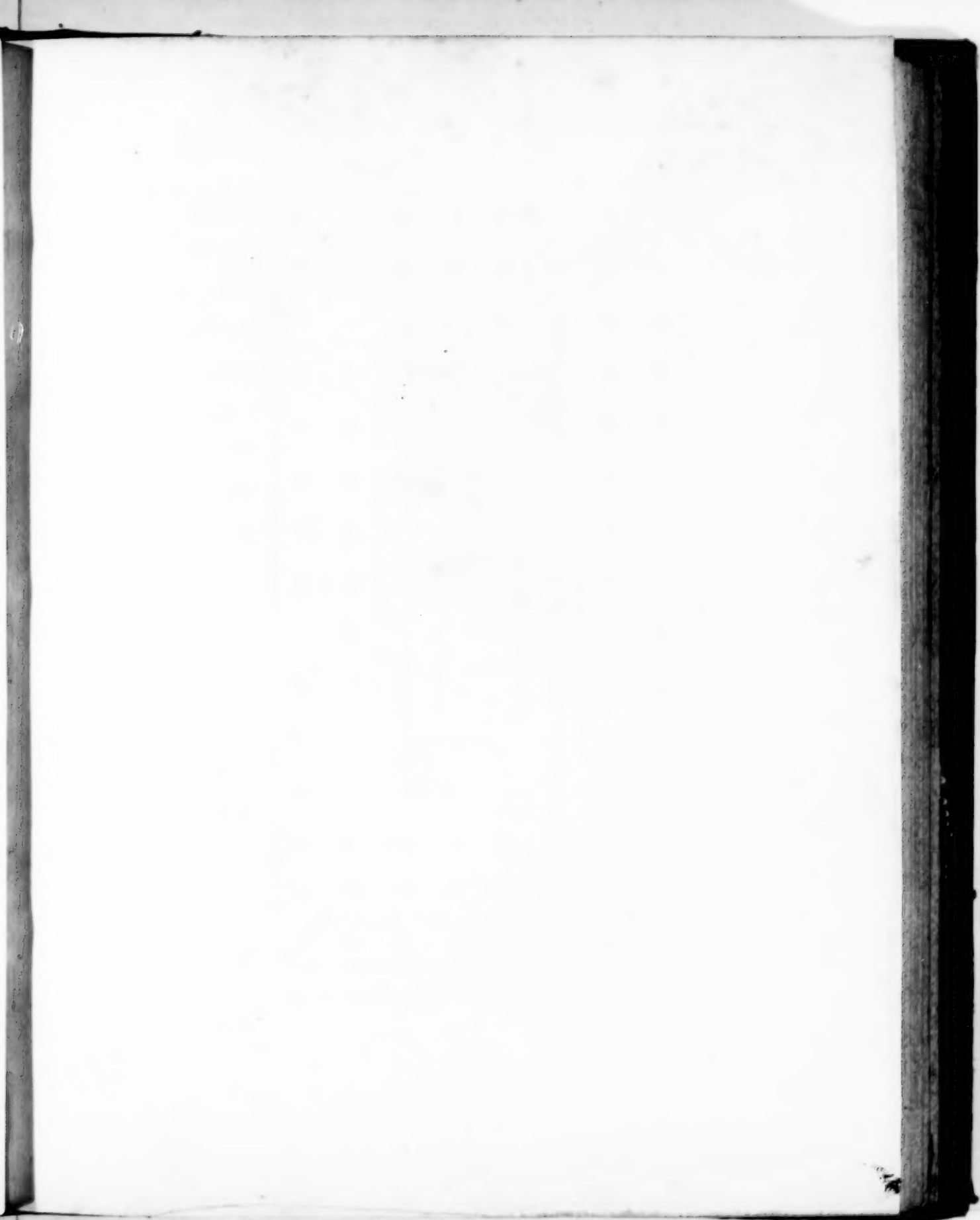
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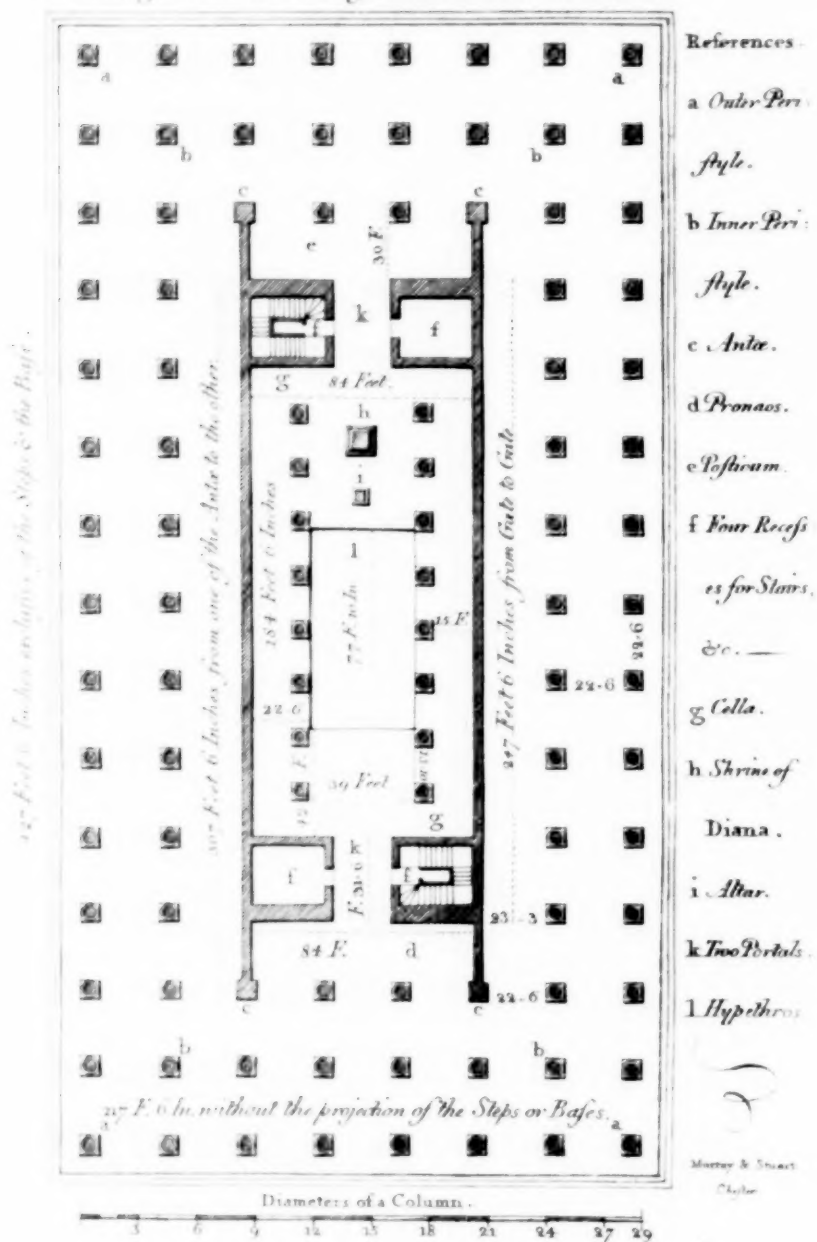
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PLAN of the TEMPLE of *DIANA* at EPHEBUS



ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

- I. *Observations on Pliny's Account of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.* By Thomas Falconer, Esq. of Chester.

Read Dec. 8, and 15, 1791.

WHEN I engaged myself to some friends to vindicate Pliny in relation to the description of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, I was not aware how many ingenious writers had discussed the same subject. Having, however, been lately favoured by a learned and noble friend with the Memoirs of the Academy of Cortona, I have read the Marchese de Poleni's curious and instructive paper on this subject, and have also considered Mr. Windham's description of that structure which is published in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*. I owe much to these learned persons, but am not discouraged from attempting a farther explanation of the text of Pliny, who, though he may have been sometimes mistaken in Natural History, has illustrated the fine arts with the

greatest attention, and the most correct taste. The passage I shall first refer to is that in Book xxxvi, chap. 14.

‘Magnificentiae vera admiratio extat templum Ephesiae Dianae ducentis viginti annis factum a tota Asia. In solo palustri id fecere, ne terrae motus sentiret, aut hiatus timeret. Rursus ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantae molis locarentur, calcatis ea substravere carbonibus, dein velleribus lanæ. Universa Templi longitudo est 425 pedum; latitudo ducentorum viginti; columnæ centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ, 60 pedum altitudine; ex iis 36 cælatæ, una a Scopa. Operi præfuit Chersiphron architectus. Summa miracula epistylia tantæ molis attolli potuisse. Id consecutus est ille peronibus arenâ plenâ, molli pulvino super capita columnarum exaggerato, paulatim exinanienti imos ut sensim totum insideret.’

In the same book, chap. 23. Pliny goes farther.

‘Ionici capituli altitudo tertia pars est crassitudinis. In Ephesiae Dianæ æde—primum columnis spiræ subditæ, et capitella addita, placuitque altitudinis octava pars in crassitudine, et ut spiræ haberent crassitudinis dimidium, septimæque partes detraherentur summarum crassitudini.’

From these two passages, well considered, it would be possible for any one who had studied the writers who have treated of Greek architecture, to form a consistent plan of this magnificent temple without farther aid. The regular system which the Greeks adopted, and from which they never deviated without great necessity, renders the description of these buildings more particularly clear and precise. The first design was only that of an oblong building, which was afterwards improved by prolonging the antæ or side walls, and placing two pillars between (an idea suggested by a warm climate),

climate), and thus forming the *pronaos* (*a*). The second improvement was made by adding a like portico at the back of the temple, called by Vitruvius *posticum*, and this sort of temple bore the name of *Amphiprostylos*. The third change was effected by continuing the columns round the walls, which secured the *pronaos* from the rays of the sun, and gave a shady walk for the whole circumference of the building (*b*). Great magnificence, assisted by a refined taste for simplicity, produced another colonnade, which formed the *dipteros*, or a temple with two peristyles (*c*).

Of this last kind was the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. These ideas were familiar to the Greeks, and afterwards adopted by the Romans. The general plan was known, and the particular rules of architecture which were practised in any specific temple were easily described, and as easily understood. This vindicates Pliny from the charge of brevity, which many have blamed, who did not know with what facility his readers might comprehend his meaning. As I am now beginning a comment on Pliny's text, I must acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Windham for correcting the punctuation, and reading 'columnæ centum; viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ.' To suppose otherwise would introduce an odd number of columns, the disposition of which has made the Marchesi Poleni add a circular peristyle of columns at the back of the temple, and suppress both the *pronaos* and *posticum*, which seem to have been essential parts of a sacred edifice in these ages. On the other hand, I must own that I disagree with the learned describer Mr. Windham, in more than one part of his discourse. I cannot allow that

(*a*) These are marked *c c* in the plan, Plate I.

(*b*) See the plan, letter *b*.

(*c*) Marked with the letter *a* in the plan.

the hundred columns were limited solely to the peristyles of the temple, but think that they included those also which were within the cella, in number sixteen. Nor can it be granted him, that the intercolumniation was the Eustyle, viz. two diameters of a column, and $\frac{1}{2}$, as Vitruvius expressly tells us that the Temple of Diana was a Diastylus, viz. having three diameters between each column [d]. The mensuration of Mr. Windham in the breadth, as he allows three diameters to the middle intercolumniation, will amount exactly to 183 feet nine inches, which differs from Pliny's account by thirty-six feet three inches. To supply this defect he includes the breadth of ten steps on each side, from the authority of Philo Byzantinus, which must have contained a projection on each side of at least eighteen feet. He supposes too the intercolumniation to be no more than 16 feet; but he should have added ten $\frac{1}{2}$ inches to each, which addition, as he gives seventeen columns on each side, and consequently sixteen intercolumniations, would add fourteen feet to his calculation. My description of the peristyle is as follows: I suppose eight columns in front, as is generally allowed. The diameters of these make sixty feet, viz. eight \times seven $\frac{1}{2}$; the seven intercolumniations give 157 feet six inches, and the total amounts to 217 feet six inches: the projection of the base, according to Vitruvius, is about one fourth of the diameter, consequently the whole, including the two projections at the extremities, will be no more than 221 feet three inches.

The number of columns on the sides of the temple must be determined by the same proportion. I cannot suppose them

[d] Diastyli hæc erit compositio cum trium columnarum crassitudinem intercolumnio interponere possumus, tamquam est Apollinis ac Dianæ ædis. Vitruv. l. iii. c. 2.

to be more than fifteen, notwithstanding the testimonies laid down of the temples of Minerva and Theseus at Athens. We have surer rules to direct us than mere analogy. The whole length, says Pliny, is 425 feet. Now fifteen diameters of a column amount to 112 feet six inches; and fourteen spaces, at three diameters each, are equal to 315 feet. The total of both is 427 feet six inches, which, even with the projection of the bases, would not be much above the measurement of Pliny.

In this enumeration I have supposed the Ionic base to be the Attic, but as this was the last refinement of Grecian taste, and probably from its name invented in Attica in after times, it is more probable that the columns of Diana's temple (being the first that had bases [e]) might only have a plinth with a single torus, and then the projection would be about one half of the Attic base, viz. only one fourth part for the whole.

If this conjecture may be allowed, the measure of the other breadth, from one column to the extremity of the other, would be only 219 feet, four inches, and that of the length 429 feet four inches, which is a surprising confirmation of Pliny's description. This too is perfectly agreeable to the rule of Vitruvius, that whatever intercolumniations there are in the front, there must be twice that number on the sides of the temple [f].

[e] For this we have the authority of Pliny confirmed by Vitruvius.

[f] Quot intercolumnia sunt in fronte, totidem bis intercolumnia sunt in lateribus. Vitruv. l. iii, c. 3. He afterwards says, that some had mistaken this rule, and supposed the duplication of the columns was intended; an opinion which he contradicts; and indeed from all the remains of Grecian temples, the columns in the front are an equal number, those on the sides unequal, which is incompatible with the idea of doubling the columns.

The

The exterior peristyle contained forty-two columns, the interior less by eight, that is, thirty-four, and the total was seventy-six columns. Pliny has not mentioned the length of the outward wall of the cella and the antæ, because it was deducible from the foregoing account. The space taken up by two columns, and two intercolumniations is sixty feet. We must subtract this from either front. Now the whole length, excluding the projection of the base, being 427 feet six inches, we must deduct 120 feet, and the whole will be 307 feet six inches.

In like manner, for the breadth of the cella, deduct 121 feet six inches, and the remainder is ninety-six feet. The antæ had a column at each extremity, which I suppose was square, and two columns between, so that the pronaos and posticum, adding eight to the 76 in the peristyles, make the whole number of columns without the cella eighty-four. The depth of the pronaos was probably the diameter of one column, and one intercolumniation to the door of the cella, which gives just thirty feet. We must deduct the same for the posticum, and the length from door to door will be 247 feet six inches. The extent of the cella within was much less; for, Pliny mentions a staircase, which must be placed between the outward door and the immediate entrance into the inside of the temple [g]. I have for this reason described four spaces in the plan, each of thirty-one feet six inches, viz. six feet for the outward wall, twenty-two feet six inches for the vacant space for the stairs, and as the inner wall had no material weight to support, we need not suppose it more than three feet in thickness. The whole deduction then will be sixty-three feet from both

[g] In this I follow the plan of all the temples of Greece hitherto described by accurate travellers.

fronts, which reduces the cella to 184 feet six inches in length. The breadth of the cella, without accounting for the diminution of the thickness of the outward walls, would be eighty-two feet, but with that may be easily supposed to be eighty-four.

The remainder of the columns being sixteen, are placed within the walls; but, though they are supposed to be of the same proportion with the exterior columns, the intercolumniation may be less. The diameters of the eight columns are equivalent to sixty feet, and the intervals between, being nine in number, are equal to thirteen feet ten inches each. The distance of these columns from the wall was, I suppose, fifteen feet, and the intercolumniation thirty-nine feet, which would be sufficient for the processions to the Sanctuary, and for the steps up to the sacred image which fell from Jupiter, with all the pageantry of Asiatic superstition. The altar was placed, as it should seem, before the idol, in a right line under the next intercolumniation, as expressed in the plate. I have now finished the plan of the building, excepting the steps leading up to the peristyle. Philo Byzantinus says there were ten, which is adopted by Mr. Windham, to reconcile the breadth of the temple, as given by Pliny, with the Eustyle intercolumniation. The Marchese Poleni seems to doubt it, and Vitruvius lays a great stress on the propriety of an odd number of steps [b]. I determine nothing until it be settled when this Philo Byzantinus flourished. One of that name, and called Byzanteus, is quoted by Vitruvius amongst the *minus nobiles*, and as a writer de machinationibus [i]; but whether this was the same which Leo Allatius published may

[b] *Gradus in fronte ita sunt constituendi uti sint semper impari.* Vitruv. l. iii. c. 3.

[i] Vitruv. in proemio ad lib. vii.

be submitted to those who have better means of information than a country retirement can afford.

Having finished the ichnography of this magnificent temple, I shall not attempt to delineate the superstructure; but the following particulars may be of use to Antiquaries. The columns were sixty feet high, viz. eight times their diameter, which was seven feet six inches; the height of the base was half the diameter, or three feet nine inches. The diminution of the shaft was one-seventh part, or nearly one foot one inch. The height of the capital was a third part of the thickness, or two feet six inches. From this account, the shaft of the column must have been as sixty feet — six feet three inches, viz. fifty-three nine inches. Pliny informs us that the *spira* and *capitellum* were first joined to the column in this temple. Vitruvius more directly affirms that Chersiphron, or Ctesiphon, (for he is called by both names,) invented the Ionic order for the Diana of Ephesus. As so perfect a form is seldom produced by one effort of genius, we may suppose, with Pliny, that there were some columns in Asia called Ionic, prior to these which he now describes, which had a capital, but, like the Doric order of antiquity, had no base [4]. The Marquis Poleni agrees with this opinion of the pre-existence of the Ionic, and of the want of a base; but he likewise assents to Vitruvius, that the capital was invented for the temple of Diana. By thus reconciling Pliny with Vitruvius, he supposes an Ionic column existing before, without either base or

[4] I have been informed that the Coliseo at Rome gives a base to the Doric order: this singularity seems to display great judgement in the designer, as the superincumbent mass demanded greater appearance of solidity. This however was not followed by the ancient architects, and the beautiful gate of Christ Church in Oxford, designed by Mr. Wyatt, proves it is not a necessary ornament.

capital,

capital, viz. having no distinctive mark of the order. The truth is, he read *Capitulum*, where Delcampius's edition has *Capitellum*. Pliny's meaning seems to be that the volute was invented before the time of Chersiphron, but that he added the Capitellum, or Abacus of Vitruvius, which by separating the volute from the epistylum, or architrave, gives a peculiar grace to the ordonnance of the whole. The only material omission of Pliny is the fluting of the columns, which Vitruvius says was first practised in this temple, and we have no authority to contradict his assertion [1]. Having finished the columns, I make no doubt that the entablature and pediment were proportions well known in the days of Vespasian, consequently Pliny had no reason to describe them minutely. If we follow the rule of Vitruvius, the former was about ten feet six inches, and the fastigium of the pediment about thirty feet or a little more. These added to the columns, without considering the steps, make the whole about 102 feet high. The cieling of the peristyle was most probably of marble, but the cella was covered with beams, as both Pliny and Vitruvius affirm.

The altar, says Strabo, was the work of Praxiteles, and this must for an obvious reason mean a second altar, erected after the burning of the temple by Herostratus.

The figure of Diana has been so often and so accurately delineated from medals, that I have only to observe they bear

[1] I admit the facts of Vitruvius oftener than his reasoning. The origin of the Ionic capital, from the braided hair or curls of the Ionian women, seems too whimsical or too refined to be allowed. May it not be submitted to more sagacious inquirers, if the horns of the ram, a common sacrifice, did not suggest the idea of the volute; for the skulls of the oxen formed the chief ornament of the metope of the Doric frieze in a very early period of Grecian architecture.

an exact agreement with the description of Minucius Felix. The matter of which it was composed was a doubt in Pliny's time. Some said it was of Ebenus, a name seemingly given by the Romans to the ebony tree, as well as the *lignum vitæ*; Mutianus [m] thought it was vine wood, but owns it was covered with a varnish of nardum to conceal the joining of the pieces, which may account for the different opinions about the wood. Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, calls it a golden image. But the expression need not be supposed to mean it was either of massive gold, or even plated all over. The rods which appear to support the figure in many medals, the veil, and some other parts of the drapery might be richly gilt or plated, and give a sanction for the word χρυσω [n]. It must now be observed that the figure is often represented in a temple of six or eight columns, of one of which Mr. Windham has given an elegant engraving.

I differ, however, from that learned gentleman in supposing that it represents the real temple. The foliage on the shafts of the columns and the flower-work above the pediment, indicate rather the minutiae of a jeweller than the simplicity of a great architect, and the example he brings of the like ornament in the beautiful but small choragic monument at Athens, vulgarly called the lantern of Demosthenes, is not, as I conceive, applicable to so vast an edifice as the temple of Diana. I should rather suppose these represent the *ναοὶ ἀργυροὶ* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles [o], viz. silver

[m] Pliny, l. xii. c. 4. l. xvi. c. 20.

[n] From an expression of Aristophanes one might as justly conclude the whole temple was of gold.

Ἡ δ' ἔφασκεν μάλα ἰσχυρὰ πύργχρυσον
ἔχουσιν αἵ ναοι. Nubes, l. 597.

[o] C. xix. v. 24.

shrines,

shrines, under which the image was exposed to view, as the *Ostenforium* [p] in foreign churches has often a nearly similar decoration at the exposition of the host. The next object is the gate or folding-doors of the temple described by Pliny [q]. They were made of cypress, as Mutianus writes, and Theophrastus confirms it.

The durability of the wood is proved by this passage. ‘Ad-jicit (scil. Mutianus) valvas esse e cupresso, et jam quadrin-gentis prope annis durare materiam omnem *novæ* similem.’ This observation is supposed to have been borrowed by Pliny from Theophrastus, which is a mistake, as it certainly relates to the state of the temple in his own time, for he was contemporary with Mutianus. Whoever will examine the dates of Alexander’s birth, on which day the temple was burnt, and the first year of Vespasian, when Pliny wrote, will find they give a space of about 414 years. The two folding-doors were, it is said, kept four years, for the glue to harden before they were hung up, and their size might justly demand an extraordinary precaution, being each of them forty feet high, and about ten broad. This passage too has been unjustly censured by the critics as a citation from Theophrastus, in which they say he has deviated from the sense of his author. The passage in the Greek naturalist is certainly obscure; but, read it how you will, as Pliny does not quote him by name, nor translate his words, why should we suppose he mistook his meaning or alluded to him in any sense? The next observation might have been borrowed by Mutianus from Theophrastus, but it is too obvious to be mentioned as a plagiarism. It is only that

[p] It is called by the French *Montrance*, and sometimes *le Soleil*. The ornamental cover is called a *tabernacle*.

[q] Pliny. l. xvi. c. 40.

the cypress was preferred on account of the beauty and permanency of its polish. The staircase was made, as Pliny says [r], 'vite unâ Cypriâ;' not of one single vine-stem, as some have thought, but of no other wood. The vines, he tells us, grow to a great height in Cyprus, and the wild vines are particularly productive of wood. The offerings in the cella of the temple must have been great; but Ephesus was beyond the sphere of the inquiries of Pausanias, and we have but few particulars in Pliny. The plate carved by the hand of Mentor is indeed mentioned as being destroyed both in Diana's temple and in the capitol by *fires* [s]. In another place we are told by Pliny that the painting of Alexander darting thunder by Apelles was preserved in his time in the Ephesian Diana's temple.

One difficulty now occurs, viz. what was the mode of giving light to so extended a building? Neither Pliny nor Vitruvius mention it; so we can only form conjectures. The Marquis Poleni supposes a wall above the columns in the cella pierced with windows, but this is not consonant to the general form of Grecian temples. I agree therefore with Mr. Windham, that there was an hypethros, viz. an open space in the roof, large enough to diffuse a light over the inside of the cella. It is marked (l) in the plan. The length would be seventy-seven feet ten inches. The breadth thirty-nine feet, very nearly double the length. The projection of the entablature would not obstruct the admission of light, as I suppose the wall to be no more than twenty-two $\frac{1}{2}$ feet distant from the opening, but whether there was a wall raised above it

[r] Pliny, l. xiv. c. 1.

[s] Pliny, l. xxxiii. c. 12.

with

with small pilasters must be left uncertain [*t*]. It cannot be objected that Vitruvius says the decastyle, or temple with ten columns in front, only admitted the hypethros, as that author makes an exception of the temple of Jupiter Olympius [*u*], being hypethral, though it had no more than eight columns. Probably the intercolumniation was the same as that of the temple of Diana; for, a decastyle temple of the Eustyle mode, viz. two diameters and one quarter, would not be more than thirty diameters $\frac{1}{4}$, or at most thirty-one, and the octastyle temple with three diameters would make exactly twenty-nine diameters. The concluding inquiries in respect to the building are first what Pliny means by these words *triginta sex* (scil. columnæ) *cælatæ*, una a Scopæ. The Marquis Poleni places them on each side of the cell of the temple; and, if there were any certain number more adorned than the rest, they could not have a place in the peristyle. As I cannot allow more than sixteen within the walls, I am inclined to think the emendation of Salmasius is right; *uno a Scopæ*. The columns had capitals, bases, and flutings; and what more ornaments could they have? The most obvious meaning is, that thirty-six columns were raised while Scopas had the sole direction of the works; and the fact deserved to be recorded, as the name of that artist was in the highest esteem. Pliny too mentions a statue of Hecate *in templo Dianæ post ædem*, whose polish was so exquisite as to injure the eyes when stedfastly examined [*x*]. Strabo also mentions a Hecatesium, but it seems

[*t*] Vitruvius mentions small columns above the colonade in the Hypethral temples; but we ought to consider that the cell of Diana's temple was the oldest part of the building, and probably the most simple.

[*u*] Vitruv. l. iii. c. 1.

[*x*] Pliny, H. N. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

to

to have been a distinct building; the architect's name was Thraſon, who is probably the ſame with that mentioned by Pliny in another place [y]. To reconcile our author with Strabo, we may well ſuppoſe the *Templum* ſignifies the whole enclosure of the ſacred ground or *peribolus*, and that *poſt ædem* means behind the body of the temple, and moſt likely on a line with the *peribolus*. The whole of theſe buildings were of white marble, and Vitruvius not only relates the manner of carrying the maſſes [z], but commemorates the name of the ſhepherd Pyxodorus, who accidentally diſcovered this valuable material juſt above the ſituation of the temple. This naturally leads us to conſider the place where this wonder of the world was erected. It was under Mount Pion, or Prion, in a low ſituation, *in ſolo paluſtri ne terræ motus ſentiret*. This ſuppoſed ſecurity from earthquakes is found to be unsupported by experience; but, if it were the opinion of the age, the fact cannot be controverted.

The ſea at one time flowed very near its walls, but the mud brought down by the Cayſter, which has now filled the whole harbour, had uſurped on the ſea before the days of Pliny; as he himſelf expreſſly declares ‘Ephēſi, ubi *quondam* ædem ‘Dianæ alluebat [a].’ Hence I conclude that the temple was farther from the ſea than the city; for, the ſame author ſays, that Ephēſus itſelf was *in orâ*, and conſequently nearer the mouth of the river. In the days of Herodotus the temple was ſeven ſtadia diſtant from the city. Lyſimachus, one of Alexander’s ſucceſſors, enlarged Ephēſus by removing thither the inhabitants of Colophon; ſo that in the time of Strabo,

[y] H. N. l. xxxiv. c. 8.

[z] Vitruv. l. x. c. 6, 7.

[a] Lib. ii. c. 35.

the distance of the temple was scarcely two stadia. It should, however, be observed, that Herodotus reckons ten stadia to a mile, and Strabo but eight. Thus, if we measure the difference by paces, it is as 700 to 250, and the new walls of Lyfimachus had encreased the extent of Ephesus 450 paces [b]. Now as the *old* authorities fix the temple *out* of the enclosure of the walls, we may justly wonder that all the *modern* travellers I have read, except my ingenious friend Dr. Chandler, have looked for Diana's temple *within* the walls of Lyfimachus. Spon and Wheler, who travelled together, must have visited the same ruins. The lively Frenchman found a resemblance in those he saw to Pliny's description, which the sober examination of Sir George Wheler could not discover [c]. It is a sufficient confutation to say this ruin was of the Doric order.

Le Brun, on the other hand, found another ruin, which, by the proportion of the capital, must have been Corinthian; and this he calls the remains of Diana's temple [d]. Dr. Pocock has gone farther than the preceding authors by giving a plan of the supposed temple; but these remains are within the walls of the city; his plan, too, has no resemblance to any Grecian temple, and he thinks it was of the *Composite* order [e], and not the Ionic. This mistake seems to have arisen from finding subterranean arched drains which were supposed to

[b] I have seen a citation from Philostratus, but cannot find the place, that there was a covered portico of a stadium in length from the city to the temple. This probably began at the extremity of the suburbs, and was continued to the peribolus; however taken, it is another proof that it was without the walls.

[c] Spon. tom. I. p. 332—336.

[d] Le Brun, tom. I. 4to. p. 97.

[e] Pocock, tom. II. p. 2. p. 51. pl. 50.

have been the foundation; but from Pliny's description I conclude they were not. He lays the first foundation with charcoal, *calcatis carbonibus*, an incorruptible substance, to which St. Augustin and Diogenes Laertius bear testimony, as well as other writers [*f*].

The next words of Pliny, *dein velleribus lanæ*, are not so intelligible; but it might be the general opinion, and no one could contradict it [*g*]. On this bottom they might lay stones till they found it firm enough to bear a more regular superstructure; for, I much doubt if the turning an arch was invented in these early times [*h*]. I have now gone over the descriptive part, and have little to add, except an answer to the cavils of Salmasius in his *Plinian Exercitat.* p. 571, 2. He accuses Pliny of confounding times, by first saying 'ducentis viginti annis factum a totâ Asiâ:' and, in another place, 'utpote totâ Asiâ extruente quadringentis annis peractum sit.' The former of these dates belongs to the first foundation of the building by Chersiphron. The dedication was in the days of Euripides, about 420 years before Christ. If we count backward 220 years, it is 640. Then I think Chersiphron built the cella of the temple. We are told by Strabo, that *αλλος εποισε μεζω*, and Vitruvius confirms it by naming Pænius Demetrius and Metagenes as continuators of the building; to one of which Strabo probably alludes. In the year 640, the Ionian cities were established, and it is well known

[*f*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 21. c. 4. D. Laert. v. Aristippi prope finem.

[*g*] The old bridge at London was said to have been founded on wool-sacks, which some Antiquaries interpret to have been erected by a tax on wool.

[*h*] The idea of an arch is not suggested by the simple form of the oblong Grecian temple. We may add that the remains of ancient buildings in Egypt, and the ruins of Persopolis have none. The first discovery of this improvement is a desideratum in the history of architecture.

the sacred buildings were a principal object of their attention.

The second date of 400 years coincides, as was observed before, with the time from Alexander to Vespasian. As for the *totá Asía*, which is to be found in both citations, the Marquis Poleni takes the latter to be a marginal gloss inserted by mistake into the text. I see no foundation for this opinion. By *Asia*, Pliny meant no more than the province of *Asia*, or at farthest *Asia Minor*, and who can doubt but the cities of *Ionía*, and many others, would unite in doing honour to a goddess so generally revered. Pausanias says, there was one temple erected to the same divinity at Corinth. Xenophon built another at Scylluris, and Strabo mentions two others, one at Massilia, and the other at Emporiæ in Spain. These contributions would be continued, as well for the reparation after the fire, as for the first erection, and Pliny, or rather his original author Mutianus, will escape censure. The twenty-seven columns erected by as many kings is a fact not incredible. It was no more than a tradition, yet, as it was honourable to the Ephesians, so it might easily be retained, and a slight inspection of history from the year 640, A. C. to 420, will exhibit a list of kings of Macedonia and Caria, besides the reguli or governors of the cities of *Asia Minor*, under the Persians, which might easily furnish the required number. It is not said they were offered at one time, and the succession of kings or tyrants (call them which you will) would, either from a love of popularity or superstition, be prompted to make the offering of a column to the temple. The next censure of Pliny is, that he has not distinguished the edifice built by Chersiphron and Scopas from that built posterior to the reign

[4] Strabo, l. iv. p. 179; l. iii. p. 160.

of Alexander. After a prolix inquiry, Salmasius is obliged to own that Vitruvius is equally in fault, and closes it with these words: 'Ex quo potest conjectura *certissima* fieri, præter alia argumenta quæ nos adduximus, nec tempora, nec opera, nec architectos distinxisse Vitruvium ac Plinium.' Now when two ancient authors not writing in concert, agree in a point of which they must be competent judges, and probably eye-witnesses, he must be a bold modern critic who shall positively deny the truth of their relation. This abuse seems to have been derived from a passage in Strabo, extended much farther than that judicious writer designed, which may be translated in the following words [1].

'When this (temple) was burnt by one Herostatus, they provided another more magnificent, collecting for that purpose the ornaments of the women, with what else they could afford of their own, and disposing of the former columns. To these facts the public decrees made at the time bear evidence. Apollodorus accuses Timæus of Taurominium of ignorance of these facts, who being in other respects an envious sycophant, and gaining the name of calumniator from thence, says they restored the temple from effects which the Persians had deposited there. Now there were no such deposits at that time, and, if there had, they must have been consumed together with the temple. After the fire, the *adytum* of the temple being open to day, who would have chosen to lay any deposit there?' Such are the words

[1] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640. C. ὡς δὲ τοῦτοι Ἡρόστῳ τῆς ἱέρουσι, ἄλλαν ἀμίαν κατασκευάσαν, συνεθήσαντες τῶν τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμος, καὶ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας, διαθέμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς περιτέρους κίνας. ταύτων δὲ μαρτυρία ἐστὶ τὰ γενόμενα τότε ψήφισματα; ἅπερ ἀγνοῶντα φασὶν ὁ Ἀρτιμίδωρος τῶν Ταυρομινίων Τίμαιος, καὶ ἄλλας βλάβας οὕτως, καὶ συκοφαντεῖται, (διὰ καὶ Ἐπιτίμιον κληθεῖσιν) λέγειν, ὡς ἐν τῶν Περσικῶν παρακαταθέσων ἰσχυρίζοιτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς ἐπισκευῆς, οὕτως δὲ ὑπάρχει παρακαταθήκας τότε, ὅτε ὑπῆρχεν, συνεμπροσθέναι τῇ ἰατρῇ· μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τῆς ἡφανισμένης ἐν ἀπαύρῳ τῇ ΣΗΚΩ, τῶν αἰ ἐκείνων παρακαταθέσων κειμένη ἔχον.

of Strabo, none of which imply that more than the *naos*, or cella, was injured by the flames. The roof, of whatever wood it was composed, must have been very combustible, but that went no farther, I think, than the inclosure within the walls; but even such a fire must greatly injure the sixteen columns of white marble, and render them incapable of repair, though they might still be used for other purposes, and therefore would be sold to advantage. I cannot but lay some stress on the word *σηκος*, translated by the Latin word *adytum*, which was left without a roof; for this expression seems to imply that no other parts were materially damaged, and consequently the walls, as well as the double peristyle, were preserved, and both Pliny and Vitruvius might consider the second temple as a reparation of the old; for, the dimensions of the whole building, the foundations, and in short most of what they wished to describe, still remained. The roof was repaired with cedar, and Dinocrates probably improved the new columns in the cella, which Strabo means by saying they built *ἄλλον ἀμεινω*, another still better. Many moderns have cavilled about the statue of Diana, whether it were the same in both temples. They seem to forget that, although this building was set on fire clandestinely, it must have been discovered soon, and then the numerous attendants might easily save the object of their worship from the flames, though many valuable offerings were destroyed. As for the ornaments of the cella, whether the walls were decorated with niches or empannelled, we have no authority to say, and I shall not imitate Palladio, and other modern architects, in supplying them from conjecture.

I would now shew the reader, if possible, why this edifice was called a wonder of the world. We have scarce an opportunity of seeing a copy in England of the true Grecian

temple, except a beautiful model in the Garden of Stow; and thence we can form but a faint idea of the object of this discourse. As for comparison with other buildings, it would be difficult to compare it with any account of the ancient temples. That of Jupiter at Olympia is briefly described by Pausanias.

The length was no more than 230 feet, the breadth ninety-five, and from these data we see it was as inferior in size to the temple of Diana as in the beauty of the materials, the former being built of the rough stone found on the spot, the latter of fine white marble. The temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum, had it been finished, might have almost vied with that at Ephesus; being, as it should seem from Diodorus, 340 feet long, by 160 (*m*), and 120 feet high, without including the basement. The columns were Doric, and seem to have been larger than those at Ephesus, but there was only one peristyle with demi round pillars in the wall. I shall now drop the comparison with ancient buildings, and only just hint that amongst the modern, St. Peter's is probably the only one which excels the Ephesian temple. With this exception let us compare it with our own St. Paul's. The breadth of the English cathedral is 180 feet, which is less than the temple of Diana by thirty-seven $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or more probably about forty. The west front of St. Paul's might be higher, as there is a double order of columns, but the altitude adds no grace to the edifice. A simple portico of eight columns, equally disengaged from each other, with an entablature and pediment composed of few parts, but those either

[*m*] At present it is read in Diodorus only sixty feet wide, but the proportion of a Grecian Temple obliges us to suppose that a numeral letter signifying 100 has been obliterated. Lib. xiii. p. 375.

necessary to the strength of the building, or such as were calculated to mark its designation, was in my opinion superior to the coupled columns and niches which break into subdivisions the front of St. Paul's, and though large, when considered in the abstract, appear too small for the whole. In length, indeed, our English building, being 500 feet, seems to have the advantage, but, from the interposition of the cross, the eye cannot avail itself of this superiority. Whoever considers the side view of fifteen columns, where each individual pillar, though great in itself, acquired additional grandeur by its junction with others, and where the colonade was sufficiently extended to give variety and softness without impairing the unity of the whole, must agree that, with respect to external appearance, which the ancients chiefly regarded, the temple of Diana was justly esteemed a master-piece of simplicity, beauty, and magnificence. As my principal view was to vindicate Pliny, I have omitted some particulars concerning the sanctuary, and the money-bank established in the temple (*u*). I might too have quoted several Greek authors about the priests; the Megabyzi of Xenophon, or the Megalolyzi of Strabo, but these passages may be found in the respective authors; to which we may join the novel of Achilles Tatius, who adds some curious circumstances unmentioned by other writers.

This narrative might have been extended; but my principal view was to vindicate Pliny, and even with that limitation it may be thought too long. It is hoped the defence of an useful author, without whose aid we had known but little of ancient improvements. may be admitted as an apology.

THO. FALCONER.

[*] See Strabo and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

II. *Extracts from the Household-Book of Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, c. Lincoln. In a Letter to the Earl of Leicester, P. S. A. By Edmund Turnor, Esq. F. A. & R. S.*

Read Jan. 19, 1792.

MY LORD,

IF after the publication of a volume of royal household establishments, the Society can be supposed to give any attention to a detail of the property and expences of a wealthy merchant in the sixteenth century, I must beg that your lordship will do me the honour to lay before them some extracts from the household-book of Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, in the county of Lincoln, Esq. merchant of the staple of Calais, and merchant adventurer of England.

The book, beginning in the year 1545, contains, principally, notes of the cattle belonging to the said Thomas Cony; inventories of his household-goods and plate at Bassingthorpe; his profits and losses in trade, &c. and the amount of his income and expences for fifty-four years. The two last particulars are here transcribed under an idea that they may tend to ascertain the proportions of various disbursements at that period; and shew what was probably a suitable provision for the families of persons in his situation.

He was the son of Richard Cony of Bassingthorpe, Esq. merchant of the staple of Calais, who died 1545, from whom he inherited a considerable property. In 1554 he married

married Alice, second daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, alderman of London, and ancestor to Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester, and the present Lord Leigh of Stoneley.

He was taken prisoner at Calais in 1558, when that town was surrendered to the Duke of Guise, and conveyed captive to Boulogne, where, after two months severe confinement, he was ransomed at the price of 374l. Amongst other articles of value, he lost the costly apparel which he had provided against his return to England, being that year chosen treasurer of the staple [a].

In 1573 he was high sheriff of Rutland, when he wore his chain of gold (weighing 32 oz.), which was given him by his wife against the assizes for that county, which it seems were then held at Stamford [a]. In the house at Bassingthorpe, the north wing of which is the only part now standing, is a room which still retains the name of the *Judge's Chamber*, and is so described in the inventories [a], being the room which was set apart for Lord Chief Justice Wray, who was his intimate friend, as well as counsel before his advancement to the bench.

He much increased his estate, as appears by a rental of it in 1577, of which an abstract is made at the end of this paper, shewing the number of farms and cottages which belonged to him, and the annual value of them in their respective parishes. The line of trade, by which this great fortune was raised, was extremely lucrative. The merchants of the staple had almost a monopoly of all wools exported; nor were the merchant adventurers, who traded likewise in wools, a company less respectable; witness their splendid reception of king Philip of Spain, when he took possession of the Low Coun-

[a] Cony Household-book, fol. MS. penes E. Turner.

tries in 1540, which is thus related by Mr. Wheeler, their secretary [b]. ‘Maister John Sturgeon, at that time governor of the company, was at the receiving in of the said prince, accompanied with thirty merchants of the company on horseback, all richly equipped, and handsomely attended, nothing inferior to the merchants of other nations, namely, the Germans, Easterlings, Italians, Spaniards, &c. and furmouting some of them in costly apparel, whereby they wanne great honour and commendation to the whole English name.’

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble Servant,

Panton, Jan. 2, 1792.

EDM. TURNOR.

[b] See his Treatise of Commerce, 1601, p. 154.

The charge of all such lands and goods that I Thomas Cony have received by the death of my late father Richard Cony, merchant of the staple of Calais : and also of all such lands and goods that I Thomas Cony have had and received by my wife Alice Cony, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of London, knight : and further, of all such lands and goods as I Thomas Cony, of Basingthorpe, Esq. merchant of the staple of England, and merchant of the adventurers, have purchased and gotten by the trading of wool and cloths to Calais and Antwerp, since my first beginning till my latter end, as hereafter followeth.

In Lands of old Rents.

£. s. d.

Imprimis, Received, by the death of Richard Cony my father, my manors or lordships of Basingthorpe, Bitchfield, Rippinghall, within the county of Lincoln ; as also the manor of Whisson-dine, in the county of Rutland, called Lord Powis's manor, valued and found by office at the death of my said father Richard Cony, and delivered me by indenture under the office-seal in the court of Wards and Liveries, in anno Edwardi sexti secundo, ut patet per ann. valor.

Together with the lands purchased by my said father Richard Cony, in North Stoke and Paunton, — —

192 0 0

In Goods.

Item, received by the death of my said father Richard Cony, by the hands of Sir Thomas Leigh,
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executor to my said father, argent as appeareth by will probat, and by his book of his wool and goods left in Calais, his debts and legacies being first discharged. Received clearly valor,

£. s. d.

1063 3 4

Purchased lands bought by me Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, Esq. as hereafter followeth.

Item, bought in Bassingthorpe and Westby, divers and fundry freeholds; and in Bitchfield likewise divers and fundry freeholds; and in Stoke and Paunton likewise divers and fundry freeholds; and likewise divers and fundry freeholds in Kirkby Underwood, in the county of Lincoln; and likewise in Boston certain freeholds; and in Morton likewise; as also in Hacconby, and other places; and also Brignall's manor in Whiffondine, in the county of Rutland, and the parsonage of Walcot, in the county of Lincoln: all which parcels I Thomas Cony do verily, in my conscience, think cost me as much in purchasing, as all the lands my father Richard Cony left me cost him in purchasing within the county of Lincoln, and of old rents, as I purchased them, besides suits and controversies in the law, is juit valor —

120 0 0

Item, bought by Richard Cony, the father, and Thomas Cony, the son; in woods in Bassingthorpe, Bitchfield, and Kirkby, underwood to the value of two hundred acres or thereabouts; and Burton Sleights, which was in my father Richard Cony's time, sometimes in the year Burton common, and thorny and bulshy ground; and

now, by the husbandry of me Thomas Cony, with much ado, by compounding with the neighbours of Burton yearly for their common, is now become good valuable wood.

In goods received by me Thomas Cony, Esq. since I came to the age of twenty-one years, till the first day of February 1607, being fifty-nine years, or rather more, as hereafter followeth:

Of purchased lands by Richard Cony my father, in fifty-nine years after, 192l. per annum, argent, is in toto — — 11323 0 0

Of purchased lands by me Thomas Cony, the son, in fifty-nine years after, 120l. per annum, argent, is in toto — 7080 0 0

Of goods received from my father, as on the other side of the former leaf, appeareth, from Sir Thomas Leigh, executor to my father Richard Cony, argent, is in toto — 1063 3 4

Of money received for woods purchased by my father and myself for fifty-nine years after, twenty pounds per annum, is in toto — 1180 0 0

Of lands, goods, and ready money received by the hands of Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, and alderman of London, at the day of my marriage with his daughter, viz. at my marriage-day, in ready-money, argent, 200l. and by lands which the said Sir Thomas Leigh left my wife, which we have sold for, being two houses, viz. one house 400l. and the other 700l. argent, in toto 1300 0 0

Of Goods.

Item, that I Thomas Cony have gotten and received by wool and wool fells, in traffick to Calais, in Edward VI. and Queen Mary, before the town of Calais was lost, in argent de claro : and to the town of Bruges, in Flanders, two years after Calais was lost, in my conscience

600 0 0

Item, that I Thomas Cony, being merchant adventurer, got by trading cloths to the town of Antwerp, in Brabant, being part of the dominion belonging to the Low country in Flanders, which was in Edward VI. Queen Mary, and some part of Queen Elizabeth, in my conscience I got, in argent

300 0 0

I Thomas Cony of Bassingthorpe, Esq. do estimate myself to be worth in goods, viz. in silver plate 120l. ; in ready-money 200l. ; in household stuff, viz. in tapestry coverings, featherbeds, bolsters, pillows, and bedsteads, by estimation 120l. In linens, as well diaper, damask, and other linens, as in table-cloths, sheets, napkins, towels, and pewter and brass, valor 120l. besides tables, stools, chairs, forms, wainscot, brewing leads, and other vessels not reckoned : and in cattle, as draught oxen, kine giving milk, and young beasts of one, two, and three years old ; and geldings, cart-horses, colts, and others ; as also in ewes, weathers, and hogs, valor 220l. besides my coach-horses, and other cattle unreckoned, worth in conscience

600 0 0

£. s. d.

Sum total of all the lands, profits of woods and goods as I Thomas Cony have received, as well by the death of Richard Cony my father, as by the marriage of my wife Alice Cony; as also by my own industry, pain, and travel, as more at large particularly appeareth: argent in toto is 23,451 0 0

The discharge of all such losses as I Thomas Cony of Bassingthorpe, Esq. have had and sustained by loss of goods in trading to Calais and Antwerp; and in suits of law, as well with Mr. Sheffington, Mr. Anthony Ellis, and others: and also for lands purchased by me Thomas Cony, of divers and fundry persons in divers towns and villages, as well in Lincolnshire, as in the county of Rutland, and Calais, and elsewhere: and also of such losses as I sustained by the marriages of my eldest son Sir Thomas Cony, knight: and also forth of my purse for the marriage of my other children; and also for money laid out and disbursed in the building of my manor houses of Bassingthorpe, Whissondine, and Bitchfield: and also spent in house-keeping for the space of fifty-three years and more, and in other ordinary charges as hereafter followeth, argent is 17,129 0 0

The loss of Thomas Cony, Esq. of all his goods lost at Calais, Anno Domini 1558 (including his ransom)

—	—	956 0 0
Item, his charges in law	—	828 0 0
Item, his purchased lands	—	1759 0 0

Item,

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Item, by his eldest son Sir Thomas Cony, at his first marriage — —	600	0	0
Item, by his said eldest son at his second marriage — —	1,200	0	0
Item, laid forth about his six sons marriages, and his five daughters — —	4,800	0	0
Item, in building his manor houses of Bassingthorpe and Bitchfield, as in conscience he thinketh to be true — —	1200	0	0
Item, that I Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, did spend in and upon myself, and my wife, in apparel and jewels, as also upon servants liveries, and other necessities in nursing and bringing up of nineteen children for the space of fifty-three years, reckoned <i>compotus compotand.</i> in my conscience is most true, at least argent —	856	0	0
Item, that I Thomas Cony of Bassingthorpe, Esq. have spent with Alice Cony my wife, for the space of fifty-years and upwards, being so long married, as in my conscience I verily think and suppose in housekeeping, as well in London as in the country: and also for buying of silver plate for furnishing both my houses; and also for providing necessary household stuff for both my said houses, in my conscience is with the least, besides my ordinary spending money, —	4930	0	0
Sum total of all the charges and expences of the said Thomas Cony, since his marriage, being fifty-four years, fully accomplished now, this 14th of January, An. Dom. 1607, being truly cast up together, and valued, at the least, is in argent	17,129	0	0
All			

£. s. d.

All this great total sum I Thomas Cony do confess, that in my very conscience it is too little valued, and so much left out as amouuts to

600 0 0

Note—Each page of the above, in the original MS. is signed Thms Cony, 1607.

Hereafter followeth the book of the rental of all and singular the lands and tenements belonging unto me Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, in the county of Lincoln, Esq. as well within the county of Lincoln as Rutland, or elsewhere within the realm of England, under the receipt and charge of John Okeley, George Grantham, and John Stokes, my bailiffs, made up An. Dom. 1577. et An. Reg. Dom. Elizabethæ, 19. ut patet.

In my own Tenure at old Rents.

The manor-house and lands of Bassingthorpe, and the tithes of Bassingthorpe and Westby	—	63	0	0
A farm in Westby, late in the tenure of John Cony, Gent.	—	4	0	0
A close called Oliver's, part of the manor of North Stoke	—	4	0	0
All and singular the woods belonging unto me Thomas Cony, Esq. as well in Bassingthorpe, Westby, Bitchfield, Morton, Kerby, Hachenby, and Lounde, yearly sold by the wood-man communibus annis.	—	30	0	0

Sum

Sum total of the annual Rent, by estimation, of
the lordship of Baffingthorpe and Westby, and
all and singular the woods now in the tenure and
occupation of me Tho. Cony, Esq. as appeareth 109 0 0

*The Rental of all my Lands and Tenements under the
Receipt and Bailiwick of John Okeley, as followeth:*

Baffingthorpe, five farms, seven cottages, and a mill	—	—	60	12	8
Westby, two farms, six cottages (chief rent 8s. 11d.)	19	19	5		
Bickfield, four farms, ten cottages, (chief rent 12s.)	18	8	0		
Burton, one farm	—	—	1	11	8
Kirby Underwood, two farms, two cottages, (chief rent 6s. 8d.)	—	—	4	14	5
Morton manor house, five farms, eight cottages,	26	3	7		
Harnthorpe, four farms, three cottages, (chief rent 13s. 7d.)	—	—	11	4	7
Rippinghall, one farm, and one cottage, (chief rent 11s. 11d.)	—	—	9	7	11
Hackenby, one farm, (chief rent 3s. 2d.)	2	6	6		
Dyke, one farm	—	—	1	13	4
Billingborough, four farms, (chief rent, 8s. 8d.)	8	4	8		
Lounde, one farm	—	—	3	13	4
Swineshead, four farms, and two cottages, (chief rent, 2d.)	—	—	34	18	0
Boston, two houses, an orchard, and a pasture	4	16	8		
Waplode and Holbeach land (sold 1578.)	3	9	10		

Sum total of all and singular the annual rents,
under the collection, charge, and receipt of John
Okeley, my bailiff, his assigns, or deputy, anno
Dom. 1577, 20 Eliz. — 212 0 3

The

The Rental of all my Lands and Tenements under the Receipt and Bailiwick of John Stokes, as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
Pauntun Magna manor house, four farms, six cottages and mill, and 11s. chief rent, belonging unto Pauntun Magre. —	19	6	1
North Stoke, eight farms, four cottages, and a mill — —	20	18	8
Sum total of all the annual rents under the collection, charge, and receipt, of John Stokes, my bailiff, his assigns, or deputy, anno Dom. 1577, 20 Eliz. — —	40	4	9

Whiffondine Rents under the Receipt and Bailiwick of George Grantham, as followeth:

Whiffondine, nine farms, eight cottages, (quit rent, 9d.) —	59	17	10
Walcot, the parsonage —	23	6	8
Sum total of all the annual rents of all and singular the lands and tenements of Thomas Cony, Esq. in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland, including the lands and tithes in his own tenure and occupation, valued, by estimation, as particularly before appeareth. — —	445	9	6

III. *On the Analogy between certain antient Monuments.*
By Richard Gough.

Read Jan. 26, 1792.



ACCIDENTALLY looking into a Latin essay of Passeri [a], on a bronze figure of a boy, inscribed on one arm with Etruscan letters, deposited by Pope Clement XIV. in

[a] Passeri de pueri Etrusco aeneo simulacro dissertatio. Rom. 1771, 4to.

the Vatican Museum, I met with a figure, represented p. xiv. from the author's own collection, which bears so striking an analogy to the figure of Esculapius, engraved in the ninth volume of *Archæologia*, p. 109, that I cannot forbear communicating it to the Society.

It exhibits a boy, or young man, naked, recumbent, laying the right hand on the right knee, and holding by the neck, in the left hand, a serpent twisted round the left arm. Passeri calls it *a patient afflicted with the dropsy, or some other disorder*; 'vir decumbens et morbo aut hydrope tumidus.' Gori, in his *Museum Etruscum*, plate xxxvii. exhibits a figure standing, holding a serpent in its right hand, in the same manner; and Tab. vii. viii. two female figures, whom he calls the goddesses *Valentia* [b], in similar attitudes.

Gori annexed to all these figures the idea of deities. They were rather votive figures addressed to deities for favours received. The favorite symbol of Esculapius is here combined with the patients of different ages, who acknowledged themselves indebted to his aid for the restoration of their health.

It is by no means improbable, that the little image, which makes the subject of Passeri's dissertation, held in its left arm the same symbol, the lower joint being broken off, and on the upper, inscribed three imperfect lines in Etruscan characters, expressive of the child's name, and those of his parents.

The conformity of fragments of antiquity found in different countries is at least an amusing subject, and frequently furnishes new lights in the illustration of these pieces. The universal collection of Count Caylus affords ample materials for such a companion. To instance only a medal of Gordian [c],

[b] Mentioned by Solinus, Tertullian, and inscriptions.

[c] Caylus, *Recueil* iv. Pl. lvii. 1, 2. p. 169. Pellerin, *Mélange de diverses Médailles*, II. 195. Pl. xxxi.

struck at *Daldia*, in Mæonia, a town mentioned only by Ptolomey and Suidas, and the birth place of Artemidorus, author of the *Oneirocritica*. On the reverse of this medal we see Diana and her two nymphs lying under a tree or grove, in a bath or stream, the water of which is poured on them from the hands of a winged Cupid. Another figure without wings, but by the bow in his left hand fairly presumable to be another Cupid, though by Caylus taken for *Actæon*, attends at the side of the foremost figure, who, thence, may be presumed to be the principal, or Diana. At the feet of the three recumbent figures is seen a stag trippant, his head turned back, as if looking at them; and in the distance is a temple, with a female figure sitting, holding a bow, or as Pellerin, a crown. Let us for a moment compare this medal with the tessellated pavement at Leicester, the subject of which has given so much trouble to Antiquaries, and of which Mr. Carter's finished drawing is in possession of the Society. We shall see the medal confirms the design of the pavement; and yet it is the same in both.

The beautiful bronze figure from Cirencester, engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. VII. plate 28, p. 405, might find an appropriation by comparing it with a figure of a flying Cupid in Gori's *Museum Etruscum*, pl. xlv. for, that the Cirencester figure had wings, seems beyond a doubt, and, though there be nothing left in its hands, they are poised to assist its flight.

Even the pottery found in Lombard-street, 1786, will admit of a comparison with some discovered in the baths at Nîmes and Rome, and elsewhere, engraved by C. Caylus, II. plate ci. cxix. cxx. cxxi. and will serve to establish the Count's opinion of the ceremonial intercourse between Gaul and Britain, from the conformity of taste, ornament, manufacture, and frequently of names of the makers on these earthen vases.

I might

I might adduce one farther proof of this assertion, in the resemblance of the Mosaic pavement found at Saguntum, now Morviedro, in Spain [d], with that at Stunsfield, in Oxfordshire, both exhibiting a similar design of Bacchus holding his thyrsus, and riding on a tiger.

These, it is true, are but inferior instances in proof of an idea which might, with a little attention, be established by many of a superior kind.

[d] Caylus, vol. II. plate cvii, page 365.

IV. Of-

IV. *Observations on Kits Coity House, in Kent. In a Letter to Samuel Foart Simmons, M. D. F. R. and A. SS. By William Boys, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read Feb. 9, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

IN travelling some time ago from this place to London, I turned a few miles out of my way to see Kits Coity House. If you should think the observations I made upon the spot, and the thoughts that have occurred to me since, may be acceptable, I beg leave, by your means, to communicate them to our Society.

Mr. Colebrook [*a*] and Mr. Grose [*b*] have so fully and accurately described this antient monument, that very little can be added to what they have said of it. One thing, however, struck me, when I saw the place, that seems to have escaped the notice of all who have mentioned the subject. The ground between the monument and the single stone spoken of by those gentlemen, and represented in their plates, runs east and west, in a broad ridge, somewhat contracted at each end, giving one an idea of a common turfed grave, with a head and foot-stone, on a large scale. Was this a tumulus, covering the remains of those of one party, who fell in the

[*a*] *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 107.

[*b*] *Antiquities of England*, &c. vol. II.

battle? And might there not have been, originally, a similar appendage to the other stone monument, now worn down in the enclosure of cultivation, covering the remains of the other party? These turfed graves might contain the bodies both of the chiefs and their followers; while the stone erections themselves might be raised to commemorate the two princes; a sepulchral honour, perhaps appropriated at that time to dignified characters only. I am aware, that much larger tumuli have been raised over single bodies; but I apprehend, if only one corpse had been placed in this repository, the mound would have been circular, and the stones would have been at the top in the centre.

The history of events at the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain is obscure and contradictory. But the following circumstances seem to have been generally admitted, and are selected as necessary to elucidate what may be said of these monuments. The Britons under Vortigern, in the middle of the fifth century, invited over the Saxons, to defend them from the attacks of the Picts and Scots. These hardy soldiers of fortune readily accepted the invitation, and landed, under Hengist and Horfa, at Ebbesfleet, in Thanet, on the North side of the eastern mouth of the Portus Rutupinus. That island was immediately put into their hands [c], and became their head quarters; but these warriors soon found means to enlarge their boundary, and by treaty or conquest became possessed of all Kent. The Britons now found themselves in as much danger from their auxiliaries as from their enemies; and, roused to action by the perfidy of Vortigern, and the encroachments of the Saxons, they deposed their king, and raised his son Vortimer to the throne. This young monarch

[c] Nennii Hist. Brit. c. xxviii.

fought

fought several battles with the Saxons, and, in particular, one at Aeillstreu [*d*], Ægelesthrip [*e*], Æglithrop [*f*], Epiford [*g*], as the name is variously written, and which our best antiquaries suppose to be Ailesford, near Maidstone, in Kent. In this battle fell Horfus [*g*], Horfa [*g*], or Hors [*g*], the brother of Hengist, and Catigirnus [*g*], Categirn [*g*], or Categis [*h*], the brother of Vortimer.

When the two Saxon brothers and joint commanders acquired the government of Kent, it is probable they made a division of the whole into two parts. Hengist, the elder brother, we will suppose, took the Western division, and fixed himself on the banks of the Thames, in the post of honour nearest his enemies, leaving the coast and the eastern district to the care and superintendence of Horfa; who, most likely, seated himself somewhere on the banks of the Medway. *Horsted*, therefore, may possibly derive its name from Horfa: but why in commemoration of his death? *Stede*, in Saxon, signifying *place*, applies at least as well to his residence as to his sepulchre. The heap of flints at Horsted, mentioned by Mr. Colebrook, is properly disposed of by that gentleman [*i*]; and the large stones noticed there by Mr. Haisted do not seem to have had any particular designation. We must therefore search at some other spot for Horfa's monument; and to what more probable spot can we turn our attention than to the fields of battle at Ailesford? Here we find two remarkable structures of stone, the one in good preservation, the other at

[*d*] Saxon Chronicle.

[*e*] Asser, Annal.

[*f*] Marc.

[*g*] Nennius

[*h*] William of Malmesbury.

[*i*] Archæologia, vol. II. p. 110.

a little distance on lower ground to the Southward, in ruins. The first consists of four stones only ; the other of nine at least ; one of which is nearly twelve feet long, and twenty-one inches thick.

If we believe that Horfa and Catigern were slain in a battle fought at Ailesford ; that the contest was about the place where Kits Coity House stands ; and that structures of stone were set up to commemorate the fall of these princes ; we may then, I think, conclude very reasonably, that *these* are the memorials of Horfa and Catigern. But the matter, if I mistake not, may be reduced to a tolerable degree of certainty by a proper attention to the name at present appropriated to one of these erections, which, perhaps, originally was given to neither of them, but to the tracts of land on which they stand ; in other words, to the field of battle. Kits Coity House, as now written, and generally interpreted, seems to have no meaning. If the ground there has been a sheep-walk, why should this place of shelter have been appropriated in its appellation to one shepherd more than to another, when all of them must in succession have made the same use of it ? Mr. Grose's etymology is more plausible ; and I say nothing against it : but I will venture to propose another, which seems to apply better to all the circumstances of the case. The word, I should suppose, is Saxon, and was written at first *Lid-caeteg-hopp*. *The place of contention between Cautey* (for so it might have been pronounced) *and Hors* : and *Kid Cautey Hors*, by the common people, who are apt to assimilate unknown sounds to familiar ones, even of no meaning, has been corrupted to Kits Coity House.

Before I conclude, I would add a few words on the *campus et lapis tituli super ripam Gallici maris*, where Nennius [4] and

[4] Hist. Brit. c. xlvii.

others [l] say the Saxons were routed with slaughter, and driven to their vessels and islands for safety, by Vortimer, and where that prince is said to have directed his body to be buried, *ad compeſcendos Saxonum furores*.

Mr. Somner [m] contends that *Folkeſtone*, and Mr. Battely [n] that *Stone* by Lydd, muſt be the place here meant, though it appears clearly, that neither of them would have objected to *Stonar*, if they had not been convinced in their own minds that *Stonar* was at that time a part of *Thanet*. But they were both moſt certainly miſtaken; as *Stonar* was then either buried altogether in the æſtuary, or, which is more probable, juſt emerging from its bed, and forming the South-eaſt point of its mouth in a long range of beach-ſtones; whence it acquired its name of *Æſtanope*, *Stanope*, ora *lapidea orientalis*. And here ſurely a *lapis tituli* was as likely to be ſet up as on *Dengenefs*; and it might have been fixed here at the firſt coming of the Saxons, to ſhew the extent of the territory conceded to them by the Britons. The *campus juxta lapidem* might be the higher ground on which *Sandwich* now ſtands, and its neighbourhood; and the expreſſion *ſuper ripam Gallici maris* is certainly as applicable to any part of the land between the two forelands as to the coaſt near *Lydd* or *Folkeſtone*.

Vortimer had purſued the Saxons from the interior parts of *Kent*; and, preſſing cloſe on their rear, came to blows with them, probably in the act of embarkation, and before they could reach their larger veſſels of transport. A fugitive army, reduced to the neceſſity of a diſorderly embarkation, muſt be

[l] Galf. Mon. vi. 13.

[m] Roman Ports, &c. p. 94. 98.

[n] Antiq. Rutup. p 19.

much at the mercy of the pursuers, and lose many men : and the great slaughter made at this place might suggest the thought to Vortimer, if the anecdote be true, of having his body buried here, as a memento of the British prowess ; which a conspicuous object raised over his remains would ever after, as soon as seen, recal very forcibly to the memory of the Saxons. A church, for instance, at Stonar, would perpetually present itself to the view of the Saxons in their island, and of those who should approach the port from abroad [o].

The Portus Rutupinus, without a doubt, was the harbour to which the Saxons, after their first establishment in Thanet, always resorted. It was, in fact, their own port, while they occupied that island ; and it was probably at that time, as well as afterwards [p], the most famous port of Britain. In coming from the Elbe to the South-east part of England, they constantly made the North Foreland ; and as soon as they had passed that headland, this port presented itself to their view. Would they, in their senses, pass by it, increasing the length and hazard of the voyage, to seek a harbour of less commodious access at Folkestone or Lydd ?

Might the word *campus* have relation to the Roman station at Richborough, known perhaps to the Saxons and Britons of that time by the name of the camp ? It was certainly used in that sense by some of the writers of the lower age. The place was just such an elevated and insulated spot as the Saxons would wish to occupy, when pressed by an enemy, and necessitated to take shipping. The foot of the hill was washed

[o] Vortimer, however, seems not to have been buried as he directed, for Nennius buries him at Lincoln, and Geoffry of Monmouth, at Troinivant, or London.

[p] *Emmæ reginæ Encom.*

by the sea, and they could step from the bank into their boats. The post was a strong one ; but the Britons, we may suppose, stormed and carried it. The stony bank, at Stonar, lay in its front, and the *lapis tituli*, if erected there, could not be more than 260 rods distant.

Or, might not the *lapis tituli* have been placed on this very hill within the walls of the castle, where I have actually discovered the foundation of a solid stone-building, raised upon the platform of the prætorium, that might well have served for a *lapis tituli* ? In this case, the words *campus juxta lapidem tituli* might be descriptive of the extensive ground without the walls of the castle near the *boundary-stone* within its area.

Where the evidence is so deficient, it would be ridiculous to form a decisive opinion. I state the different conjectures that have arisen in my mind in considering the subject, and shall be contented, if any of them shall be thought to be founded in probability.

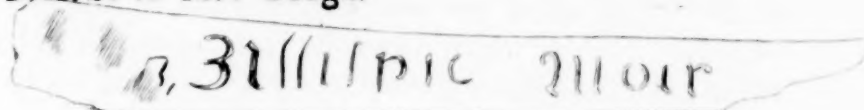
I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

Sandwich, 29th Jan. 1792.

W. B O Y S.

V. *Some Account of a Symbol of antient Investiture in Scotland. In a Letter from Robert Riddell, Esq. F. A. S. to Mr. Gough.*



Vol. X. p. 25

Read February 16, 1792.

SIR,

SOME time ago I met with one of the oldest symbols of antient investiture perhaps now to be met with in Scotland. It is a small silver sword, which has long been preserved in the family of *Lany*, and which, afterwards by a marriage, came into the family of *Buchanan of Arnprior*. Upon the forfeiture of that family, for engaging in the rebellion of 1745, this sword being found in their charter-chest was lodged in the Court of Exchequer, along with the papers of the family, and
a few

a few years since, was, together with the estates, restored. When I was in Edinburgh, in the year 1789, with my late friend the learned Francis Grose, Esq. Antony Barclay, Esq. writer to the signet, did me the favour to allow Capt. Grose to make a drawing of the remains of the little silver sword with which Culenus, king of Scotland, who succeeded to the throne about the year 965, invested Gillespie Moir with this estate, of which Alexander II. King of Scotland, in 1227, granted a charter of confirmation, narrating the foregoing circumstance, which still exists in the archives of the family of Buchanan of Arnprior; and of which I here give a copy.

Carta Alexandri II. anno 1227. Alano de Lani.

‘ Alex. Dei gratia Rex Scotorum. omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Alano de Lani, et Margaretæ de Lani, filie quondam Gillespie de Lani, militis, terras de eodem infra vicecomitat. de Perth, que quondam fuerunt dictæ Margarete, et quod ipsa nulla vi aut metu ducta, sed mera sua voluntate apud Schon, per fustem, et baculum, nobis sursum redidit, Tenend. et Habend. ipsis et heredibus adeo libere et quiete sicut ipsa Margareta tenuit seu possedit ante hanc resignationem virtute Gladij parvi quem *Culenus Rex*, olim symbolice dedit Gillespie Moir, predecessori sue, pro dicto singulari servitio. Reddendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris servitium debitum et consuetum. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum magnum apponi fecimus. Testibus G. Epis. Dunkelden. Waltero filio Alani Senescallo Justiciario Scotie, Willielmo Joanne de Bail M’Peid Schan. 5^{to} Octobris, anno regni 13^{to} (i. e. anno Dom. 1227).’

While I am upon this subject I shall mention two other instances of antient investiture in Scotland. The lairds of Skein were wont to receive investiture of their lands by their sovereign's presenting them with an antient durk, which took its rise, according to Sir George M'Kenzie, from the following circumstance. A second son of Robertson of Struan, for killing with his durk, in Stocket forest, a wolf, which had attacked the king, got a grant of lands, and the name of *Sk'ein*, which signifies, in Gallic, a durk; and for several ages the family received investiture of these lands by this durk.

The lairds of M'Leod were accustomed prior to the reign of James I. to receive from the kings of Scotland investiture of their great estates by being girt with a sword by the sovereign.

Other instances might be given. The Strathbolgie family, earls of Athol, according to the phrase, were *cincti cum gladio comitatus Atholiæ*.

I shall mention one other instance of investiture at present in existence. The posterity of the sextons, that attended at the cathedral church of Lismore, are called the barons of Bachel, and are in possession of lands which they hold by preserving the *Baculum More*, or the bishop's pastoral staff or crozier; and by the tenor of their charter they forfeit their property if they lose this crozier. Their original charter they had from the bishops of the isles, and it has been renewed by the Argyle family after the same form.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Friars Carse, 13th Dec. 1791.

R. RIDDELL.

VI. *Observations on a Greek Inscription at London.* By
Mr. Gough. In a Letter to the Rev. T. W. Wrighte,
Secretary.

Read Feb. 23, 1792

DEAR SIR,

THE drawing [a] that accompanies this was purchased by me at the late Dr. Lort's sale, and represents a bas relief on white marble, found by Mr. Milles, a builder, among the ruins of a house at Islington. The date of this discovery is not mentioned, nor when it was fixed up in the front of a warehouse in High Timber-street, near Labour-in-vain-hill. But it must have been at least twenty years ago, as I recollect to have heard of it from our late treasurer Mr. Colebrook, who died 1775. I sought for it without success, so long ago, and having repeated my inquiries after it since I became possessed of the drawing, I had the mortification to find that the house wherein it was fixed had been re-built, and no intelligence was to be obtained of the figure.

In this uncertainty where this figure came from originally, or may at present be concealed, I shall content myself with observing, that it represents the antient *Retiarius*, a sort of gladiator, armed with a *net*, to cast over his adversary, and a *trident* to dispatch him thus entangled. The bas relief dug up at Chester, and engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I. p. 65, is a happy illustration of this monument. The

[a] See Plate II.

Retiarius

ΝΙΑ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ
ΑΙΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ



This relief at London.

Retiarius there, holds the trident in his right, and the net pendant at his side in his left hand; and has on his right shoulder a kind of shield or covering, like that which, on some of our brass sepulchral plates, is called the *gonfanon*, and appears above each shoulder. Professor Ward's explanation of the former is applicable to the present instance: "*Quod dextro gestat humero a vetere scholiaste in Juvenalem, Sat. VIII. 208. galerus dicitur, quem ita describit. Galerus est humero impositum gladiatoris hujusmodi aliquid, quo citius sparsum funem vel jactatum retium colligat.*" Its use was to assist him in recovering the net if he missed his cast. In a mosaic given by Bartoli, engraved in the same plate, this *galerus* appears on the *left* shoulder, which the professor apprehends to be an error of the artist: for, that the net was cast with the right hand, we have the authority of Juvenal;

————— movet ecce tridentem
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit —————

implying, that, as soon as he had missed his throw, he had recourse to his trident. Another conformity between the present and the Chester *Retiarius* is the belt or girdle tight round his waist. That figure is naked; but this has a kind of apron or drapery below the belt, but apparently unconnected with it. This figure holds a dagger in his left hand instead of a net.

The monument is sepulchral; and the inscription in Greek capitals sets forth, that it was put up by ——— *Ania Martia* to her husband.

I am, &c.

Feb. 7, 1792.

R. GOUGH.

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VH. Notices

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Feb. 7, 1792.

R. GOUGH.

VOL. XI.

H

VII. Notices

VII. *Notices of the Manor of Cavendish, in Suffolk, and
of the Cavendish Family while possessed of that Manor.*
By Thomas Ruggles, Esq. F. A. S.

Read May 3, 1792.

Vol. XI. p. 50



THE various opportunities which antiquity gives the genealogist to compliment greatness at the expence of veracity are so obvious, that particular instances to prove the assertion cannot be necessary. The genealogic tree seldom bears any fruit on its branches but such as are fair to the eye of Pride, and pleasant to the palate of Greatness. The ar-

cana

cana of remote times are not protruded upon the view, when they are calculated to give an humble lesson to the pride of ancestry; and, were this not the case, the researches of the antiquary would not in all instances be able, with certainty, to trace a pedigree up to the original founders of families, whose first emergence from obscurity to riches or renown lies hidden by the dust of antiquity, which has been collecting for ages; were it his intention, that truth should predominate, although at the expence of vanity.

I was led into this train of reflection, by a careful investigation of some Suffolk papers, which were purchased at a sale of Mr. Martin's manuscripts about the year 1773; and, by comparing those relating to the village of Cavendish with some Court rolls and original title deeds of the manor of Cavendish Overhall, for several centuries, the property of, and which gave the patronymic name to a noble family, that stands as high in the opinion of the world for what constitutes true greatness, as it does in this country for titular nobility.

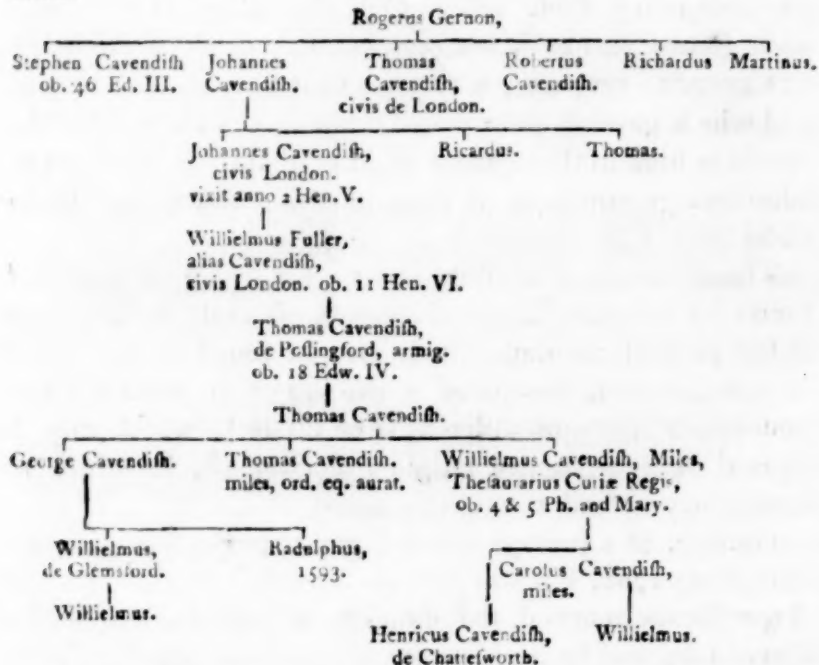
The difference of assertion, as to the origin of the possessions of this family in the village of Cavendish, is not greater in the printed accounts which may be found on this subject in our libraries, compared with each other, than those accounts themselves are different from the fact, which may be proved by records and original documents, to which recourse may be had.

Guthrie, in a peerage which began to be published in numbers about 1760, but was left an imperfect work, says, that *Roger Gernon* married the daughter of John Potton, lord of Cavendish, and by her became the founder of the family of Cavendish; and that they had issue four sons. Roger died in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second,

1324; and his eldest son John was Chief Justice of the King's Bench [a].

Morant, in his History of Essex [b], tells us, that John de Cavendish was descended from *Robert Gernon*, that his father Sir John Gernon took the name of Cavendish from his seat of residence in that town; that by Catharine his wife, daughter

[a] This account he probably took from Collins, in his Historical Collections of the noble families of Cavendish, Hollis, &c. published in 1752; as he asserts the same fact, and refers for authority to the manuscripts in the Cotton library sub effigie Julii, F. xi. This reference has been examined, and no such account found, but the following very imperfect sketch of the genealogy of the Cavendishes.



It is observable that none of the female line of the family are mentioned in this genealogic sketch, which has on the face of it every appearance of imperfection.

[b] Vol. II. p. 323, in Pentlow.

of

of John Smith, of Cavendish, Esq. he had Sir John Cavendish, who was one of the Justices of the King's Bench. Neither Collins, Guthrie, or Morant, can strengthen their assertions by Dugdale's authority, for he, in his Baronage, only says, 'this family was derived from the Gernons, which being seated at Cavendish, in Suffolk, assumed that place for their surname.'

The difference in their accounts is curious; the one calls the *Stipes* Roger, the other Robert; the one claims the daughter of John Potton, lord of Cavendish, as the heiress of the Cavendish property, and the foundress of the family; the other, the daughter of John Smith; but the notices in my possession prove both the assertions unfounded.

By an *inquisitio post mortem* taken the 35th year of Edward I. 1306, it appears that John de Odyngfeles then held the manor of Cavendish of the king in capite.

Another notice of the same kind proves, that the manor continued in 1351 in the same family; for it is found, that 24 Edw. III. 'John de Giffard, et John de Bradfield, fuerunt tenentes manerii de Cavendish, jus Joannæ Odyngfeles, quod Hugo de Odyngfeles nuper tenuit de eodem rege, quo servitio ignoramus.'

The manor, therefore, was in the possession of the family of *Odyngfeles*; in 1306 John held it; and in 1351 it was held to the use of Joanna Odyngfeles, and was before that the property of Hugh Odyngfeles. In the lapse of forty-five years from 1306 John, Hugh and Joanna Odyngfeles had been in the possession of it.

Therefore John Potton could not have held the manor at the time of his death in 1324, nor at the time of his daughter's marriage.

And by a fine levied 32 Edw. III. 1359, by John, the son of John de Odyngfeles, knight, to John Wingfield, knight, Gilbert

Gilbert de Debenham, John Cavendish, and Alice his wife, of the manor of Overhall and Cavendish, this manor passed into the Cavendish family.

And in 43 Edw. III. 1370, a fine is levied of the advowson of Cavendish, and lands there, by Sir John Clinton, to John Cavendish, and Alice his wife, in tail.

The manor of Cavendish called Overhall therefore passed in 1359 from the family of the Odyngfeles to Sir John Cavendish, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and the advowson, and other lands in Cavendish, in 1370, from Sir John Clinton.

And there are not among the Suffolk papers relating to Cavendish any notices respecting the family of *Potton*, although there are some inquisitions and Suffolk fines as far back as the end of the 13th century; nor of *Smith*, so early as the end of the 14th century; and Guthrie mentions the first intermarriage of the Cavendishes with the Smiths, in 1524.

By Dugdale's *Chronica Series*, in his *Origines Juridicales*, it appears that John de Cavendish was constituted in 1366 Capitalis Justiciarius ad placita coram rege, &c. and that on the 5th of July 1373, he was again appointed to that office; and in 1377, the first of Richard the Second, he was in the same office, and received a grant of a hundred marks a year, by letters patent, bearing date the 26th of June; and that he was beheaded by the rebels in the fifth of Richard the Second; and before his death he made his will, dated at Bury St. Edmond, le Vendredi proscheyn devant la feste de Palmes, l'an du reigne le Roy Richard Seconde apres la conquete quart. Probat. 26 die Aug. A. D. 1381.

This will of the Chief Justice proves, that the head of a respectable family, who had many years enjoyed a very high and honourable office, had acquired but a trifling personal

sonal property, and that a great proportion of that little was given away to charitable purposes, or such as were of public benefit, and not to his family, although they do not appear to have been in affluent circumstances ; and it proves also, as does indeed the law of the land in those times, that Collins and Guthrie are again mistaken, in saying, that Sir John Cavendish devised his manor and lands in Cavendish, Wakenham, Aspes, and Saxham, to Andrew Cavendish, his son and heir ; as no lands are devised, or could then pass by a devise ; a copy therefore of this will, as found among the Suffolk papers belonging once to Mr. Le Neve, shall follow ;

‘ In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

‘ Ego Joh’es Cavendysche sanæ mentis existens condo testamentum meum in forma quæ inferius describitur. Imprimis, lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cancello ecclesiæ de Cavendysch, coram summo altari prope ubi corpus Aliciæ nuper uxoris meæ jacet humatum ; et quia lingua Gallica amicis meis et mihi plus est cognata et magis communis et nota quam lingua Latina, totum residuum testamenti mei prædicti in linguam Gallicam scribi feci, ut a dictis amicis meis facilius intelligatur. Primes J’ai ordeigne et devise, &c. Imprimis, a Andrew Cavendysche un lit de worstede, vermeil ove colouré tester embroide et poudres de colombynes, et auxi ridelles de worstede vermeyl, et bestes pour charus [c] charettes en toutes le places, queux il aura apres moi par descint de heritage, &c. Item, a Rose sa feme un lit vermayl, &c. et un coupe d’argent en ou est emprente une rose, c’est ascavoir ceo que jeo avois de don de la Countesse de la Marche. Item a Margarete leur file un lit de

[c] Possibly, char et charrettes.

‘ saperye

‘ faperye poudre des popyngays : item a la fesaunce du chan-
 ‘ cell de Cavendyffche en caas que la perfon alloques ou ces
 ‘ executoires le voillent commencer dedeins un an procheyn
 ‘ avener apres la Pasche crefuant 40^{li}. Item a distribuer as
 ‘ poures decrepits, avoegles et anxien, et as autres que ne
 ‘ poeuent travayler pour leurs fustenance de villes ou jeo aye
 ‘ terres et tenements et foureynement a Cavendyffche, Pente-
 ‘ low, Fakenham, Saxham, c’est ascavoir a chascun ayant re-
 ‘ garde a fa poverte et son mefchef selon la bone discretioun
 ‘ de mes executeurs 20^{li}. de q’ueux 10^{li}. a Cavendyffche.’
 Dated as above.

Whether the will of the Chief Justice, which respects his being buried near his wife Alice in the chancel of the church of Cavendish, was complied with, the documents in my possession do not enable me to ascertain.

To the Chief Justice his son Andrew succeeded in the possession of this estate. He was knight of the shire in 1371, and was paid for his attendance forty-one days, eight pounds four shillings. He was also in 1386 sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, died in 1396, and was buried in the new abbey near the Tower of London, as appears from the will of his widow Rose Cavendish, dated 1419. He left one son William.

John Cavendish, the second son of the Chief Justice, gave the finishing stroke to Wat Tyler, the lord mayor having only wounded him in the neck ; for which action he was knighted on the spot, and received from Richard the Second an annuity of forty pounds a year to him and his heirs. He is supposed to be the same John Cavendish to whom Henry the Fifth, in consideration of his discretion, prudence, and fidelity, granted the office of Broadener of his Wardrobe. He married Joan, daughter of Sir William Clopton, of Clopton, in Suffolk,

Suffolk, and left three sons, William and Robert, executors of the will of Rose Cavendish, and Walter Cavendish.

William Cavendish, citizen of London, and mercer, married Joan, the daughter of — Staventon, and became possessed of this estate by virtue of a fine levied the 13th of Henry the Fourth, by William, the son and heir of Sir Andrew Cavendish, of the manor of Cavendish, called Overhall, which Rose the late wife of Sir Andrew Cavendish then held in dower. He died in 1433, leaving one son, a minor; and by his will, dated Jan. 5, 1432, he directs, that if he should die in London, he is to be buried in Mercers' chapel; if at Cavendish, or elsewhere in Suffolk, then his body to be buried in the parish church of St. Mary, Cavendish; and that 20*l.* should be given to the church where he is buried; and that his executors provide an obit for him, his parents, and wife, in the church of Cavendish; and that they repair the highways between Posingford and Clare, as also the way between Cavendish and Clare; and he gives to Pentelow and Posingford churches 5*l.* each, and appoints his brother Robert guardian of his son Thomas during his nonage, and constitutes the said Robert one of his executors [*d*].

Robert Cavendish, his brother, was a Serjeant at Law, and was also seised of this estate, by virtue of a fine passed by the said William, the son of Andrew, in the same year, but subsequent to that before mentioned; as there is in my pos-

[*d*] It appears by a memorandum among other church-notice taken in 1694, that there then existed in Cavendish church a monumental stone, on which was this inscription, 'Hic jacet Willielmus Fuller.' Arms, three harts' heads caboshed, horned Or; which probably lay over the body of this William Cavendish, whose name was also Fuller, as is probable from the manuscript in the Cotton library.

session a notice of a fine levied by William Cavendysh, son and heir of Sir Andrew Cavendyshe, to Robert Cavendyshe, the thirteenth of Henry the Fourth, the first being marked Lig. 1. N° 111. the last, N° 112. He died in 1438 : for, an Inquisition post mortem taken that year finds him dead without issue, seised of this manor ; and Alice, wife of William Nell, his cousin and heir, to wit, daughter of John, grandfather of Robert.

Thomas, the son of William, was designed both of Cavendish and Posingford, in Suffolk. He married Catharine Scudamore ; and in 1440, William Nell and Alice his wife levy a fine of the manor of Cavendyshe Overhall to William Norwold, clerk, and others, as may be supposed to the use of Thomas Cavendysh, because the following extract shews it to have been in his possession in the thirty-third of Henry the Sixth, anno 1455.

‘ Cavendysh villa et manerium vocat’ Overhall ibidem de
‘ diversis prati et pasturæ ibidem divisim jacentibus et per
‘ metas, &c. descriptas concess. per Thomam Cavendysh,
‘ arm. fil. et haer. W. Cavendish, nuper civis et mercator.
‘ London. Joh’ni Clopton, et aliis.’ Dorf. cl.

He died 1477, leaving one son, Thomas, and was buried in the church at Cavendyshe, as there appears among the church-notices before alluded to the following :

Cavendysh, 1477. S. three harts’ heads caboshed. A. attired. O.

G. a chevron between three maunches, O.

Thomas Cavendish, Esq. was Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer until his death. He married Alice, daughter and co-heiress of John Smith, of Podbrook hall, Esq. and had by her four sons. He does not appear to have been in possession of this estate. He died in 1524.

George,

George, his eldest son, was in possession of the manor of Cavendish Overhall, and had two sons; William was the eldest, to whom, in the fourth year of Philip and Mary, 1558, he granted by deed enrolled in Chancery this manor in fee, on the said William releasing to his father one annual payment of twenty marks, and covenanting to pay him yearly for life at the site of the mansion-house of Spains Hall, in the parish of Finchingfield, in the county of Essex, forty pounds, at the four usual quarterly days of payment. When George Cavendish died is uncertain; but it is apprehended in 1561, or 1562.

William Cavendish, his son, was in possession of the manor in the fourth year of Elizabeth, as appears by the following receipt:

‘Fourth Eliz. 1562, de Willielmo Cavendish, pro manerio de Cavendish Overhall, Cavendish.

‘*respectu homagii* ^{d.} xx.’

He was succeeded in this estate by his son,

William Cavendish, of London, mercer, who by that description, and reciting himself to be the son of William Cavendish, gentleman, deceased, by deed dated the 25th of July, in the eleventh year of the reign of Elizabeth, 1569, released all his right and title to this estate, and to other lands lying in different parishes, to William Downes, of Sudbury in Suffolk, Esq.

The Cavendish manor and estate, therefore, was alienated, and passed in 1569 from the elder branches of the Cavendishes. In the mean time a younger branch of the family descended from Thomas Cavendish, Clerk of the Pipe, who left other sons besides George, viz. William and Tho-

mas. William laid the foundation, and almost reared the structure of greatness which the Devonshire family now possesses: but Guthrie is again mistaken, when he says that George, the eldest son of Thomas, had two sons, who both died without issue; whereas it has been proved from original deeds, that William, the eldest, had issue, a son, who alienated the estate to William Downes. Whether the elder branch of the Cavendish family be extinct by the death of William Cavendish, of London, mercer, without issue, I am not able to say; but should presume not, because in the register of Cavendish there is this notice: 'William Cavendish, son of Ralph Cavendish, gentleman, baptized 1612.'

From the family of Downes this estate was conveyed, in the eleventh of Elizabeth, to John Felton, of Overchryfall, in Essex; from John Felton, in the forty-first of Elizabeth, to George Howe, of Sudbury; from him in the forty-third of Elizabeth, to — and Bridget Cracherode, daughters of Matthew Cracherode, of Cavendish, Esq.; from the Cracherodes, the twentieth of James the First, to Sir Stephen Soame, of Heydon, in Essex; from them to Isaac Fuller, of Cavendish, grocer, in the thirty-first of Charles the Second; from the Fullers to William Bassett, of Milford, in Suffolk, clothier, in the thirteenth of William the Third; from the Bassetts to Samuel Thomas, of Lavenham, in Suffolk, in 1752; and from that family to the writer of these notices in 1791.

The site of the old mansion of Overhall is on a pleasant knoll, or rising ground, which overlooks the adjacent county, and has a pleasant view of the meanders of the river Stour, which flows about half a mile distant. The remains of the moat which formerly surrounded the mansion may still be seen, especially on the North-west; and the fish-ponds, which formerly

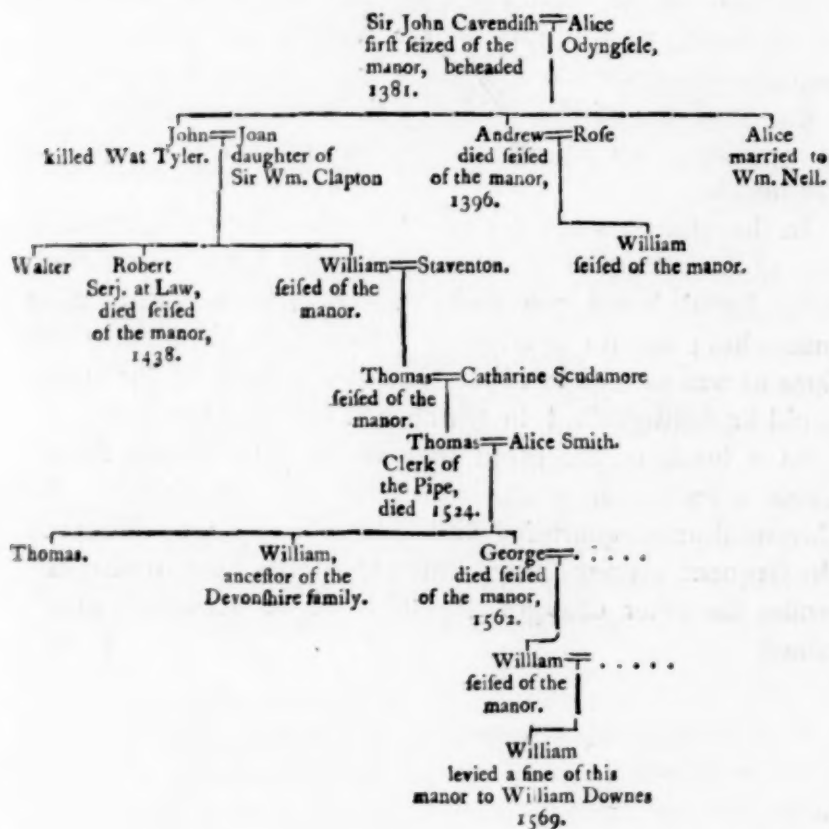
merly were a constant appendage to family mansions, still remain. The front of the house appears as in the sketch sent herewith, copied from one taken by Mr. Johnson of Woodbridge, in 1785, when he measured the estate. By a computus of the bailiff of the estate delivered to Mr. Cavendish at Michaelmas, the thirteenth of Henry the Eighth, the mansion appears to have undergone great repairs, as there is a long account, principally for the carriage of timber and materials, for the repairs of Overhall; and in the forty-third of Elizabeth, a great part of the mansion was pulled down, and the remainder fitted up for a farm house, as appears by a memorandum of the family of the Cracherodes, soon after it came into their possession. No arms remain in any part of the building.

In the church is one flat marble in the center aisle, containing at the bottom of the stone on separate brass escutcheons, three harts' heads caboshed; a chevron between three maunches; but no inscription. This stone is probably the same as was noticed in 1694. No other vestiges of the family could be distinguished in the church in December 1791.

In a house on the green may be seen three several stones, about a foot square each, introduced into the cielings; the Cavendish arms, quartered with another family, are visible; but the frequent whitewashings which the stones have undergone render the other changes impossible to be accurately ascertained.

T. R.

The Descent of the Family of Cavendish, who were seised of the Manor of Cavendish Overhall, Suffolk, as proved by Le Neve's Memoranda and original Title Deeds.



VIII. *Account of some Roman Antiquities lately discovered in Cumberland. By the Rev. D. Carlisle, of Carlisle. Communicated by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.*

Read May 10, 1792.

THE antiquities from which the inclosed drawings [a] were taken have been all (except No. 23) found at Castlesteads or Cambeck fort. A few of them were discovered some time ago, but the greater part only last year, when the remains of the fort, as well as of the wall of Severus, for a considerable length, were dug up.

Castlesteads, called in the *Notitia Petriana*, was the sixth station from the Western extremity of the wall. It was garrisoned by the *Ala Petriana*. In dimensions and figure this fort did not differ materially from the other *castra* along the wall, being an oblong of an hundred and thirty yards by an hundred : but its situation, in one respect, was remarkable, as instead of coinciding with the vallum, it was built at the distance of nearly a quarter of a mile from it.

The walls of the fort have been long entirely levelled ; and the area, which they inclosed, overgrown with brush-wood ; however, the foundations might easily be traced, and many vestiges of the ancient buildings were, within these few years, very distinguishable.

In digging in the ground which lies over the ruins, were found several coins of the Antonini and Severi, and some fragments of furniture, &c. of a much more modern date ;

[a] Plates III. IV. V.

amongst the rest, an iron lock, formed just as locks are at present, and a shilling of Edward the Fourth. Whence it should seem, that some of these forts, after having been deserted [b] upon the incursion of the Picts in the year 416, were repaired in the middle ages, and converted into castles by the barons.

As the remains of the vallum itself, for near half a mile, were entirely dug up, Mr. Johnstone, to whom the estate belongs, had an opportunity of examining the construction of this curious remnant of Roman industry with the greatest accuracy. Of this he gave me the following account. 'The breadth of the foundation was eight feet; the wall, where intire, was faced with large stones on both sides, and the space between them filled with rubbish stone to the depth of a foot; then a strong cement of lime and sand, about four inches thick; over that a foot of rubbish, and then a cover of cement as before; these layers were succeeded by others of rubbish and cement alternately, till the interstice between the facing-stones was filled up to the top, and thus the whole became one solid connected mass.'

The remarks upon these inscriptions, which I have ventured to add, I submit with the greatest diffidence to the Society.

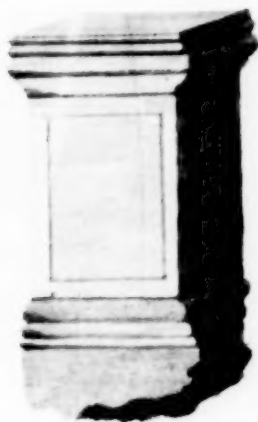
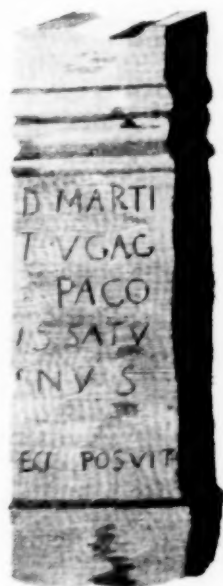
Plate III. fig. 1. From the dress of this figure not being Roman, and from its bearing a cornucopia in its hand, may we not conjecture that it was meant for some local *genius*, most of whom (as we see from Montfaucon, plate CC, &c.) were thus represented?

Fig. 2. The last line of this inscription looked so like MINERVE, that I was at first induced to consider the altar as

[b] Relictis civitatibus ac *mura*, fugiunt, disperguntur.

BED. Hist. p. 50.

having



Roman Antiquities at Castlesteads in Cumberland.

having been dedicated to Belatucader and Minerva, as Θεοὶ συμβαμοί, and I made it out thus : DEO BELATVCADRO A tq̄ue Reginæ MINERVÆ; but as I believe there is no instance of the epithet *Regina* being applied to Minerva, and as it is but seldom that we meet with an inscription upon an altar, where the name of the person who erected it is not introduced, I should prefer reading the whole, DEO BELATVCADRO ARAM Meritò Erexīt RVFus.

This is the eighth altar which has been dug up in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall inscribed to Belatucader. It has been thought by Selden, and many learned men, that the name of this god is no other than that of *Baal* or *Bel*, differently modified; and what considerably strengthens this conjecture is the great number of inscriptions discovered hereabouts where the Phœnician deities are indubitably mentioned. We have altars dedicated to the *Syrian Goddess*, to the *Tyrian Hercules*, to *Mitbras*, to *Aflarte*, all found within a short distance from Petrianæ: why then should we not think it probable that Belatucader (like Baalzephon, Baalpeor, Beelzebub, and many more), may be compounded of Baal, with some title annexed?

I do not lay much stress upon etymological arguments; but I cannot help remarking how very naturally the word Belatucader resolves itself into *Bel* [and the Arabic epithet *دو قدر*] *du cader* (potenti) an epithet frequently applied to the Deity himself in the Koran.

Nor was there any mode of forming the names for their gods and heroes more common amongst the Orientals than by uniting an attribute with the possessive pronoun *du*; of this Pococke (*Hist. Arab. Spec.* pag. 104.) has given us no fewer than ten instances.

I read the inscription fig. 3. *Deo MARTI TVNGrorum AVG ustorum PAGONVS SATVRNVS FecIT PoSVIT.* The letters upon this altar, as well as the workmanship of the stone itself, are extremely rude; the former seem only to have been scratched with a nail: and indeed we may gather from the inscription, that the person who dedicated the altar had made it himself.

Fig. 4. This little vessel is composed of blackish clay, very different from any to be found in the neighbourhood. Perhaps it might have been a kind of lachrymatory.

Fig. 5. This head, apparently of a Roman foldier, is not ill executed.

Fig. 6. has no inscription: on one side is sculptured an axe and a sacrificing knife; on the other a bird not unlike the Ibis.

Fig. 7. The inscription here is almost entirely obliterated.

Plate IV. Fig. 8. The upper stone of a hand-mill.

Fig. 9. Four or five of these small troughs were dug up in different parts of the fort, and one in the foundation of the vallum itself. They were all found inverted.

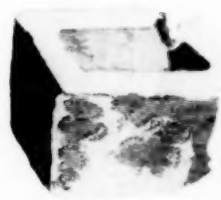
Fig. 10. seems a rude sculpture of Hercules, though it is not easy to say what is meant by the necklace about his neck. We are informed by Lucian that the Gauls did worship this deity under the name of Ogmios; but one cannot imagine the figure upon our altar to have been intended for the Celtic Hercules, who was the God of Eloquence, and represented under the symbol of an old man with a club, drawing a number of followers after him by a chain fastened to their ears.

Fig. 11. This altar is finished with more neatness than any of the others, and the letters are as sharp as if they were only just cut. The whole of the word *AVGVSTI* was evidently intended

8



9



11



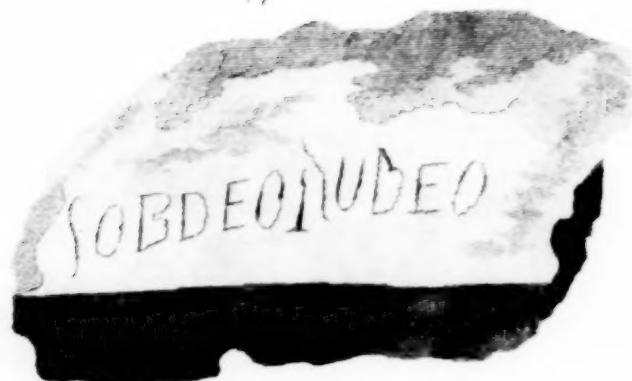
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12



Roman Antiquities at Castlesteads, in Cumberland





intended to be engraved in one line, but, on account of some mistake having been made, the latter part of it is erased, and continued in the line below. It is probable, that the altar was erected near some building, which by accident had been burnt down, as a quantity of scorched wheat was found lying beneath it, and as the stone itself bears evident marks of fire upon its surface. We have many altars in Gruter, and elsewhere, dedicated to the virtues of the Roman Emperors, as to their piety, to their chastity, to their constancy, &c. Cicero himself calls those qualities *divas*, 'propter quas datur ascensus in cœlum;' but to deify their mere *institutions* (for, the word DISCIPLINÆ, I should imagine, can only be a mis-spelling for DISCIPLINÆ) seems a curious stretch of flattery.

Fig. 12. A female figure of not inelegant workmanship.

Pl. V. fig. 13. Fragment of an altar to Jupiter.

Fig. 14. I can make no conjecture what this stone was intended for, or what the letters upon it mean: I think they may be read SVB DEO RVBEO.

Fig. 15. All that is legible upon this altar seems to be *Iovi Omnipotenti Maximo Et Genio LOCI Cohors SEXTA . . .*. The sides are ornamented with a præfericulum and a patera.

Fig. 16. and fig. 17. appear to be fragments of sepulchral inscriptions.

Pl. VI. fig. 18. and fig. 19. rude relievos of images.

Fig. 20. Inscription, *Centuria ROMANI*. This stone was found in the ruins of the great vallum, and probably, like many similar ones given in Horsley, &c. had been originally fixed in the face of it, to denote what portion of the building each particular body of troops had compleated. It is a pity that the places where these stones were found, and their distances

stances from each other, have not been more precisely ascertained.

Fig. 21. This altar was found some years ago in the bank of a rivulet, which runs by the fort ; and an engraving of it is given by Mr. Brand in his History of Newcastle ; but as it was covered with moss and dirt at the time he inspected it, he could not examine the inscription so accurately as I have been enabled to do from the altar in my own possession.

The symbols upon the sides, a thunderbolt and wheel, sufficiently declare that the altar was dedicated to Jupiter, although the letters I. O. M. which, no doubt, were once upon it, are broken off, together with the upper part of the stone. The original inscription, therefore, I fancy might be read thus :

Iovi Optimo Maximo
 ET NVMINIBUS AVGVSTI
 Noſtri, COHors SECVNDA TVN-
 GRORVM GORDIANA Milliaria ECqvitata
 FIDA. CVI PRÆ-
 EST CLAV-
 DIVS PRA-
 EFectus, INSTANTE
 AELIO MARTINO
 PRINCipe, X Kalendarum Ianuarii,
 IMPeratore Domino Noſtro AVGVſto III. PO-
 MPIANO, CONſulibuS.

The mark \geq (milliaria) seems to have been at first omitted by the workman, and added afterwards between the lines. The *Cohors Equitata Milliaria* (whose existence, as part of the Roman army, appears to be not much known) is thus described

scribed by Hyginus [c]; "Habet Cohors Equitata Milliaria pedites septingentos sexaginta, centurias decem, equites ducentos quadraginta, turmas decem." And although the name of *milliary* cohort was originally confined to the first cohort of the legion, as consisting of a thousand men, yet, in the latter times of the empire, according to Vegetius 'non tantum unam cohortem sed etiam alias milliarias legio fuit iussa fuscipere.'

In the last line but one of this inscription, there is an evident mistake of III for II, as we know, from the *Fasti*, that Pompeianus was the colleague of Gordian in his third consulship.

It is remarkable, that though the *first* cohort of Tungri is spoken of by the *Notitia*, and to be traced in various inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall, yet neither the *Notitia*, nor a single stone (as far as I know) except this altar, make any mention of the *second* cohort. That *it* ever was in Britain, appears only to be known from a few words of Tacitus: 'Agricola, (says he, in describing the battle with Galgacus) tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum *duas* cohortatus est ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent,' &c. It is pleasing to see a passage in a Roman historian and an inscription dug up in Cumberland thus mutually throwing light upon each other.

Fig. 22. A foldier, with an arcula in his hand, perhaps a corn-basket; a similar figure is given in Horsley, N° XI. Scotland.

Fig. 23. This altar was found in the bed of a rivulet at Bewcastle, a village situated about six miles to the north of the wall of Severus. It was sent to me a few months ago.

[c] De Castrametatione.

I read the inscription thus :

SANCTO CO-
CIDEO, Titus AVRVCus
FELICISSI-
MVS TRIBVNus
EX EVOCATO
Votum Solvit Lubens Meritò.

Tribunus ex evocato may perhaps signify, promoted to the rank of Tribune from being an *Evocatus*; but I should rather think that *Tribunus* and *ex evocato* were unconnected with each other, and consider the latter as synonymous with *qui fuerat evocatus* (who was formerly an *evocatus*) a mode of phraseology, though perhaps not very common in the best Latin writers, yet by no means unfrequent in the later ones. Ammianus Marcellinus affords us numberless instances of it: thus lib. xxi, c. 6. 'Amphilotius quidam *ex Tribuno* Paphlagoniæ ausus, &c.' lib. xxii, c. 3. 'Taurum *ex Præfecto Prætorio* in exilium egerunt.' In the Hist. Aug. Script. p. 145, we read, 'Senatus Maximum Pupienum *ex Præfecto urbi* qui plurimas dignitates præcipuè gessisset, imperatorem creavit.' In the same manner we find in glossis Isidori *ex consule* for *consul vetus*, *ex milite* for *miles vetus*.

The *Evocati*, as we may gather from various passages in the Roman historians, were soldiers, who after having completed their military service, still remained in the army as volunteers.

This is the third altar found in Cumberland dedicated to the local deity Cocideus.

Fig. 24 and 25 are impressions taken from two intaglios cut in cornelians; the former is drawn the same size as the original,

nal, the latter twice as large. Fig. 24 seems intended for a Mercury; he has the petasus upon his head, and holds a purse in his left hand; whether the artist meant to engrave a caduceus in his right, I cannot determine. He is destitute of the talaria: but we find Mercury as often represented without these two last symbols as with them (Montfauc. pl. LXVIII. LXIX.)

Fig. 25. Profiles of Jupiter, Castor, and Pollux. From the imperial diadems with which they are crowned, perhaps the engraver wished to denote Severus and his two sons Caracalla and Geta under the characters of these deities.

IX. *Observations on the Burning of the Steeple of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. By the Rev. S. Denne, In a Letter to Mr. Gough.*

Read May 17, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

IN your British Topography, vol. I. p. 607, you have mentioned a tract relative to the burning of St. Paul's steeple, June 4, 1561, printed by Seres in 1563 [*a*]. By the title page it should seem to be an addition to a former tract published by Seres; and in a volume of black-letter tracts, 12mo, which my friend Mr. Latham not long since picked up, there is, as I apprehend, the book alluded to. Imagining from your silence that you may not have seen it, and it being very short, I have transmitted a copy of it. Mr. Herbert, the Continuator of Typographical Antiquities, to whom the tract has been shewn, had never met with it; but he is inclined to think that all the material circumstances have been inserted in our chronicles. Whether he is right in his conjecture, no person is more competent to determine than yourself. As far as I can recollect there are incidents of which I was not before apprized.

According to Stowe, in his Survey, the steeple was set on fire between three and four o'clock; but it appears, from a

[*a*] This book is mentioned by Mr. Herbert, p. 696.

relation of the fire upon oath, entered in the Registry of Bishop Grindal (Newcourt, Repert. vol I. p.3.), that the accident befell the steeple between the hours of one and two. The fact most probably was, that the flash of lightning was between one and two, though, as observed in Seres' first tract, the smoke from the steeple was not perceived till some time after.

Notwithstanding the confession of the sexton that this calamity was not occasioned by lightning, I see no reason to doubt of that being the sole cause of it, though circumstances might, for an hour or two, retard the appearance of the fire. *Quære*, Does the damage done to the turret of the steeple of St. Martin's church occur in any history of London? It is in a brief Chronicle, printed by T. Marsh, 1561 [*b*]. The advice of the experienced in warres to shoot down with canons the steeple of St. Paul's, to prevent the spreading of the fire, would have reflected credit on an Engineer of the island of Laputa. The passage from Jeremiah printed in the title page was, it may be presumed, the text to bishop Pilkington's sermon, the substance of which so speedily issued from the press of Master Seres.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful

And obliged servant,

Wilmington, March 8, 1792.

S. DENNE.

[*b*] Herbert, p. 851.

The true Report
of the burnyng of the Steple
and Church of Poules,
in London.

Jeremy, xviii.

I wyll speake suddentlye agaynst a nation,
or agaynste a kyngedome, to plucke
it up; and to roote it out, and destroye
it. But yf that nation, agaynste
whome I have pronounced, turne
from their wickednes, I wyll re-
pent of the plague that I thought
to brynge uppon
them.

Imprynted at London, at the
West ende of Paules Church
at the Sygne of the Hedghogge,
by Wylliam

Seres.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum
solum.

Anno 1561. The x of June.

The

The true reporte of the
burning of the Steple and
church of Paules, in London.

Leaf A. ii.

On Wednesday beinge the fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, and in the thyrde yeare of the reigne of our Soveraygne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. betweene one and two of the clocke at afternoone, was scene a marveilous great fyrie lightning, and immediately infused a most terrible hydeous cracke of thunder, such as feldom hath been heard, and that by estimacion of sense, directlye over the citie of London. At which instance the corner of a turret of y^e steple of Saint Martin's church within Ludgate was torne, and divers great stones casten downe, and a hole broken throughe the rooffe and timber of the said church by the fall of the same stones.

For divers persones in tyme of the saide tempest being on the river of Thamys, and others, beyng in the fieldes, nere adjoyning to y^e citie, affirmed, that thei saw a long and a speare pointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the broche or shaft of Paules steple from the easte westwarde. And some of the parish of St. Martin's then being in the streete dyd feele a marveyulous strong ayre or whorlewynd, with a smel lyke brimstone coming from Paules church, and withal heard the rush of y^e stones which fell frō their steeple into the church. Betwene iiij and five of the clocke a smoke was espied, by divers, to breake oute under the bowle of the said shaft of Paules, and namely, by Peter Johnson, principall Registrer to the Bishop of Londō, who immediately brought word to the Bishop's house. But sodeinly after, as it were in a momente, the flame brake forth

(A. iij)

in a circle like a garlande rounde about the broche, about two yards to thestimation of sight under the bowle of the said shaft, and increased in fuche wise, that within a quarter of an howre, or litle more, the crosse and the egle on the toppe fell downe upon the South crosse Ile. The Lord Maior being sent for, and his brethren came with all spede possible, and had a short consultation, as in such a case might be, with y^e Bishop of London, and others, for y^e best way of remedy. And thither came also y^e Lord Keper of the great seale, and the Lord Treasorer, who by their wisdom and authoritie dyrected as good order, as in so great a confusiō could possibly be.

Some there wer, pretēding experience in warres, that couceled the remanente of the steple to be shot down with canons, which counsel was not liked, as most perilous both for the disperfing the fire, and destructiō of houses and people; other perceiving the steple to be past all recovery, considering the hugeness of the fier, and the dropping of the leade, thought beste to geat ladders and scale the churche, and with axes to hew down a space of the roofe of the churche to stay the fier, at least to save some part of the
(A. iiij) saide churche, which was concluded. But before the ladders and buckets could be brought, and things put in any order, and especially because the churche was of such height, that thei could not scale it, and no sufficiente number of axes could be had, y^e laborers also being troubled with y^e multitude of ydle gazers, the moſte parte of the higheſte roofe of the churche was on fier.

Fyrſt, the fall of the crosse and egle fired the Southe crosse Ile, which Ile was firſt consumed, the beames and brands of the ſteple fell downe on every ſide, and fired the other three partes, that is to ſaye, the Chauncel or Quier, the North Ile, and the body of the churche, ſo that in one howres ſpace
y^e.

y^e broch of the steple was brent downe to y^e battlementes, and the most part of y^e highest rooffe of the church likewise consumed. The state of the steple and church seeming both desperate, my Lord Mayor was advised by one maister Winter, of y^e admiraltie, to converte the most part of his care and provisiō to preserve the Bishops palace adjoynning to the North-west end of the church: least frō that house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adjoynning, whereupon the ladders, buckets, and laborers, were commanded thither, and by greate labor and diligence, a piece of the rooffe of the Northe Ile was cut down, and the fier so stayed, and by muche water, that parte quenched, and the said Bishops house preserved. It pleased God also at the same tyme bothe to turne and calme the winde, which afore was vehemēt, and continued stil high and greate in other partes without the citie. There wer above V. C. persons y^e laboured in carying and filling water, and divers substantial citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, so did also divers and sondrye gentlemen, whose names wer not known to the writer hereof, but amongst other, the said M. Winter, and one Mr. Stranguish did both take notable paines in their own persons, and also much directed and encouraged other, and that not without great daūger to theselves. In y^e evening came the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, from the court at Grenewiche, whē the Queenes majesty, assone as the rage of the fier was espied by her majesty and others in the court, of the pitifull inclination and love that her gracious highnesse dyd beare both to y^e said church, and the citie, sent to assyst my Lorde Mayor for the suppressyng of the fyre, who with his wisdom, authority, and diligent travayl, did very much good therin. About x of the clocke the fyercenes of the fyre was past, the tymbre being fallen, and lyinge brenninge
uppon

uppon the vaultes of stone, the vaultes yet (God be thanked) standynge unperished: so as onelye the tymbre of the hole church was consumed, and the lead molten, saving the most part of the two lowe Iles of the Queare, and a piece of the North Ile, and an other smal piece of y^e Southe, in the bodye of the church. Notwithstanding all which, it pleased the merciful God in his wrath to remēbre his mercie, and to enclose the harme of this most fyerce and terrible fyre wythin the walles of thys one church, not extending any part of his wrath in this fyre uppon the rest of the citie, which to all reason and sence of man was subject to utter destruccion. For in the hole city without the church no stycke was kyndled surelye, notwithstanding that in diverse partes and stretes, and within the houses bothe adjoyning, and of a good distance, as in Fletestrete and Newgate market, by the violence of fyre, burninge coles of greate bignesse fell downe almoost as thicke as haylstones, and flawes of lead were blowne abrode into the gardins without y^e citie, like flawes of snowe in bredthe, w^oute hurt, God be thanked, to any house or persō. Many fond talkes goe abrode of the original cause of this fier. Some say it was negligence of plumbers, whereas by due examination, it is proved that no plumbers or other workemen laboured in the church for sixe monethes before. Others suspect it was done by some wicked practise of wild-fyer or gunpowder, but no just suspicions therof by any examination can be founde hitherto. Some suspect conjurers and forcerers, wherof there is also no great likelyhode. And if it hadde bene wrought y^e waie, yet could not the devil have done it, without God's permissiō, and to some purpose of his unfercheable judgemēts, as appereth in the story of Job. The true cause, as it semeth, was the tēpest by God's suffrance: for it cannot be otherwise gathered, but that at y^e said great
6
and

and terrible thunderclap, when St. Martins steeple was torne, the lightning, which by natural order smiteth y^e highest, did first smite y^e top of Paules steeple, and entring in at the small holes, which have always remained open for building skaf-folde to the workes, and finding the timbers very elde and drie, did kindle the same, and so the fier increasng grew to a flame, and wrought y^e effecte which folowed, most terrible then to behold and now most lamentable to looke on.

On Sunday folowing, beyng the viii day of June, the reverend in God, the Bishop of Duresme, at Paules crosse, made a learned and fruitful sermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, and namely to humble obediēce of the lawes and superior powers, which vertue is much decayed in these our daies. Seming to have intellygēce from the Queenes highnes, that her Majestie intendeth that more severitie of lawes shall be executed against persons disobedyent, as well in causes of religion as civil, to the great rejoyng of his auditours. He exhorted also hys audiēce to take this as a generall warninge to the whole realme, and namelye to the citie of London, of some greater plage to folow, if amendmente of lyfe in all states did not ensue: He muche reproveth those persons whiche woulde assigne the cause of this wraethe of God to any perticular state of mē, or that were diligent to loke into other mens lyves, and could see no faultes in themselves; but wished that every man wold descend into himselfe, and say with David, *Ego sum qui peccavi*. I am he that hath sinned, and so furth, to that effect very godlye. He also not onely reproveth the prophanatyō of the said church of Paules, of long time heretofore abused by walking, jangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining, &c. namely, in sermons and service time: but also answered by the way to the objections of such evil-tunged persons, which do impute this token
of

of God's deserved ire, to alteratiō or rather reformatiō of religiō, declaring out of aūcient records and histories, y^e like, yea and greater matters, had befallen in the time of superstiō and ignorance. For in the first year of King Stephē, not only the said church of Paules was brent, but also a great part of the city, that is to say frō Londō Bridge unto St. Clemēts without Tēple bar, was by fier cōsumed. And in y^e daies of King Hēry y^e VI. y^e Steple of Paules was also fired by lightning, although it was then staide by diligēce of y^e citizens, y^e fier being thē by likelyhode not so fierce. Many other suche like cōmon calamities he reherfed, whiche had happened in ōther cōūtreis, both nigh to this realm, and far of, where the church of Rome hath most authority, and therefore concluded the surest way to be, y^e every man should judge, examin, and amēd himfelfe, and embrace, beleve, and truely folow y^e word of God, and earnestly to pray to God to turn away frō us his deserved wrath and indignation, whereof this his terrible work is a most certein warning, if we repent not unfeinedly. The whiche God grāt maye come to passe in all estates and degrees, to y^e glory of his name, and to our endelēse comforte, in Christ our Saviour. Amen.

God Save the Queene.

X. Re-



Italian pipe

X. Remarks on an Italian musical Instrument. In a Letter to General Melville. From John Moir, Esq.

Read June 21, 1792.

DEAR GENERAL,

IN 1789, passing through a town in Lombardy, I accidentally heard a piper, surrounded by a crowd, execute an air so affecting, that I got out of my chaise to hear him; but judge my surprise when I found, that the instrument he was playing on was perfectly similar to the fistula the Satyrs and Fauns are pictured with. The piper had a little basket of the same sort of instruments to sell, one of which I bought [a], and on enquiry I found that it is common with the peasantry in that country; I doubt, therefore, whether it will have that merit of novelty with you that it had with me; but if it should happen that you have not seen one of the kind before, I may congratulate myself from the light your fine taste and erudition have constantly thrown on every thing relative to the antients, that I have put it in the best possible train of investigation. On my arrival at Milan, I mentioned the circumstance to a gentleman, who procured me the hearing a concert on it, accompanied by a violin and guittar, that quite enchanted me. The execution appears complete and easy, particularly what in other instruments is so difficult, the running up and down the gamut, which is done by a hori-

[a] See it engraved, plate VI.

zontal motion of the hands drawing the even part of the fistula across the lips, and gently blowing into the pipes or reeds, each of which is a full or half note, and a little practice, to a good ear, soon gives the shiftings to form the tune. I must remark, that the one I had heard at Milan had many more pipes, and of course greater compass.

I am, dear General,

Your obliged humble Servant,

*Great Portland-street,
June 16, 1792.*

JOHN MOIR.



Cup found in Cornwall.

XI. *Farther Accounts of Antiquities discovered in Cornwall, 1774.* By Philip Rashleigh, *Esq. F.R. and A.SS.* In a Letter to Mr. Gough.

Read November 8, 1792.

NOT finding any person that has attempted to explain the use of several antiquities discovered in Cornwall in 1774, which were exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1788, and engraved in pl. viii. [a] of vol. IX. p. 187: I have lately borrowed them, and trouble you, Sir, with some observations on the plate.

No 1. 22, and 23, were parts of a silver cup, resembling one used in a neighbouring parish at the Communion, as represented in the sketch sent herewith [b]. Round the outside of the cup, near the edge, are remains of pins, or rivets, for the purpose of fixing a rim or ornamental border; and from the holes in No. 6 and 7, I thought they might have fitted together, but on comparing them, they differ widely; and not being equal all round, they could not be applied as a hoop. No. 6. is eight $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and No. 7, is 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, including the two small ends which are wanting in No. 6. The holes in these pieces shew they had been fixed to some solid body; which, with their different lengths, now convince me, on a fuller inspection, that they could not have been used for bracelets.

[a] Mis-numbered IX.

[b] Plate VII.

No. 16 is the top of No. 9, which has only a carved front, with a little cross behind, thus +. The figures represented in 6, 7, 8, and 9, with 16, have only been ornamented for a front view.

The loose piece in the middle of No. 22, seems of no use to that part of the cup, or to be any way connected with it, except by the three holes which exactly coincide. This piece very much resembled the silver top of a horse-whip. Fig. 3 is a silver spring. What fig. 10 is I know not, but certainly not a spring.

There are two pieces of No. 15, and of No. 19; and Nos. 18, and 20, are both alike.

I think the mint-master's name of Burgred's penny is not accurate; the letters are very plain, and appear as BENHTÆL [c].

If these observations are of any use to explain parts of the plate, I submit them to your inspection; and if at any time I can render them more clear by better assistance than I have near me, I shall be obliged to you for putting me in the way. I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Menabilly,
Sept. 4, 1792.

PHIL. RASHLEIGH.

[c] It seems to be the same with No. 27. in the plate of Saxon coins in the new edition of Camden's Britannia.

XII. An illuminated Letter of Filiation among the Grey Friars. Communicated by Craven Ord, Esq. F. R. and A. SS. In a Letter to the President.

Read Dec. 6, 1792.

MY LORD,

I Beg leave to lay before the Society a curious illuminated letter of filiation from Thomas, brother of the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors, in England, to John Marshall, and Isabel his wife. It bears date 1 Edw. IV. The following is a copy of the original now exhibited :

‘ Venerabilibus in Christo Johanni Marchal et Isabelle conforti sue frater Tho^{us} Fratrū Minōr’ in Anglia minister et servus, Salutē et per presentis vite merita gaudia percipere sempiterna. Devocionē quā ob dei reverenciam ad ordinem nostrum habetis sincere caritatis affectu considerans, cupiensque vobis vices repēdere salutare, vos ad universa et singula fr̄m administrationis Anglicane suffragia tenore presencium recipio in vita pariter et in morte plenā vobis participacionem omnium missarum, orationum, predicacionum, vigiliarum, ceterorumque omnium bonōr spiritualium quantū Deo placuerit concedendo, que per eōdem fratres mee cure commissos operari dignabit clementia salvatoris. Adiciens insuper de gracia speciali ut cum obitus vestri una cum representacione presencium in nostro provinciali capitulo fuerint nunciati, pro vobis fiat per totam
ad-

administracionem Angliequod pro nostris fratribus et amicis ac benefactoribus ordinis nostris defunctis recommendatis ibidem fieri consuevit. Valet in Domino Iesu Christo Matreque ejus virgine gloriosa. Dat. London, xvii die mensis Octobris, anno Domini 1462.'

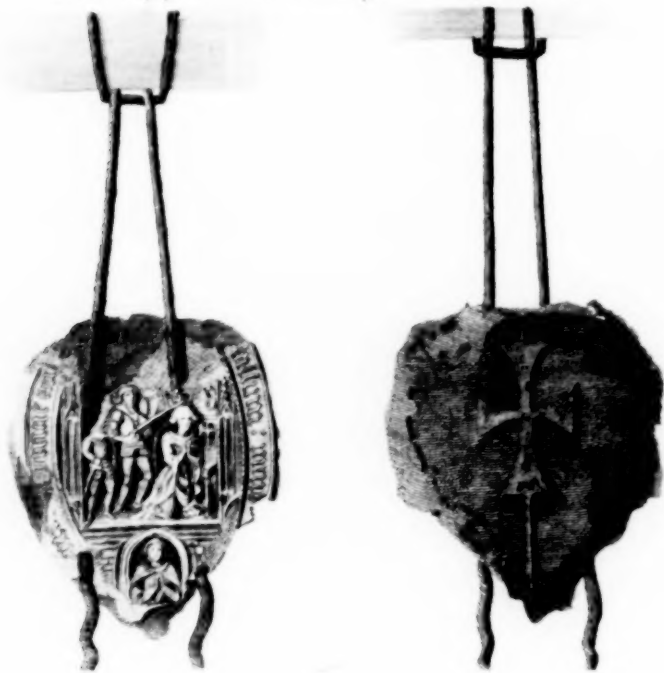
The Grey Friars were first settled near Newgate, in London, about 1240.

In Stevens's Continuation of Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. II. p. 93, is the translation of a similar letter, which is there called 'A venerable Monument of Antiquity in the ancient family of the Comptons, from which the Earls of Northampton are descended.'

'To our most-beloved in Christ, Thomas Compton, and Joanna his wife, brother Thomas, vicar in England to the Minister-General, greeting, and that through the merits of this present life they may attain eternal joy. Reflecting on, and accepting of the devotion you, in reverence to God, bear to our order, with the affection of tender charity; and being desirous to make you a return to salvation, I do, by these presents, admit you both in life and death, to all and singular the suffrages of the brothers of the English administration, granting you full participation of the spiritual advantages which the goodness of our Saviour shall vouchsafe to be performed by the same brothers committed to my charge, as far as it shall please God. Adding moreover, as a special favour, that whensoever your deaths, together with an account of these presents, shall be notify'd in our Provincial Chapter, the same shall be performed for you throughout all the administration of England, that is wont to be there done for the brothers of our order, and for the recommended friends and benefactors of our order deceased.

'Fare-

Seal appendant to an ancient Vol. XLVI. p. 67.
Letter of filiation among the Grey friars.



‘ Farewell, happily in our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Mother, the glorious Virgin, Given in our Provincial Chapter, held at Coventry, on the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, in the year 1420.’

In Blomefield’s History of Norfolk, vol. II. p. 565, Margaret Est, sister of the convent of Friars Minors, orders her letter of *pardon and privilege* to partake of their indulgences, to be carried home to the convent as soon as she was buried.

The obverse of the seal appendant to the letter now exhibited is of the finest red wax. On it is represented the murder of Thomas Becket, with an imperfect inscription, which may be thus made out : ‘ Sigillum Minorum Fratrum Provincie Anglie.’ The reverse is of very fine green wax, with a cross impressed on it*.

I am, my Lord, with great respect,

Your Lordship’s

Most faithful and obedient servant,

*Bloombsbury-Square,
Dec. 5, 1792.*

CRAVEN ORD.

* See plate VII. *

XIII. *Extract from the Wardrobe Account of Prince Henry, eldest Son of King James I. Communicated by William Bray, Esq. F. A. S. In a Letter to Mr. Wrighte, Secretary.*

Read Jan. 17, 1793.

SIR,

HOWEVER little adapted to the views of the Society a tailor's bill may at first appear, perhaps on a second consideration, it may not be thought quite improper for their notice.

Should any one find the house of Pliny at Pompeii, and in it a bundle of tradesmen's bills, and amongst them a tailor's, would it not be considered as a matter of curiosity to see how tailors in those days made out their bills, and what supplied the place of buckram, canvas, tape, and thread, so often introduced in ours?

The Northumberland Household-Book has preserved many curious particulars. We have had exact accounts of the number of oxen, and thence down to the chicken, which have been served up at great entertainments by our ancestors. The Form of Curie has rescued from oblivion many sauces, which, if we do not admire enough to eat in preference to the modern ones of Burgefs, at least give us some idea of the taste

taste of our ancestors, and the strength of their stomachs ; but I do not recollect that any one has given us a tailor's bill for any of our Edwards or Henrys, or their courtiers.

Will it then be quite improper to produce a bill of this sort for one year's cloaths for prince Henry, son of James the First ?

To those who have paid the bills of a Regnier, or a Bazalgette, the amount of £4574. 14s. 0½ for one year's cloaths, (for such it seems to be, though there are not dates to the several articles) near 200 years ago, may not seem altogether surprising, considering the person for whom they were made ; and yet, unless such a bill as this was preserved, the bills of those modern adorners of the person might excite the admiration of future antiquaries, if any of them should by accident be found at the bottom of a chest, or in a corner of a steward's room, especially if there should be receipts at the foot.

To our modern fox-hunters it may appear a novelty that a hunting coat should be lined with velvet.

This bill, however, may serve to shew the various particulars of dress at the beginning of the last century, the places whence some of the then fashionable finery were brought, the manner in which different parts of the dress were then ornamented ; and may it not furnish to the lovers of black-letter books explanations of allusions or hints in their favourite authors, at present little understood ?

By a warrant for the Princes grace dated at his Majesty's honour of Hampton Court, the 28th of September, in the 5th year of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord James, by the Grace of God, king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fortieth, 1607.

For the fifth of the king, 7th October, 1608.

To Alexander Wilfon, tailor, for making a doublett and hose of greene fatten cut and rased, cut out upon taffata, lined with taffata, the facing and pockets of taffata, layed with filke lace, filke, stiching, and sewinge fatten to the collar, and small furnishing, as Holland clothe, baies, canvas, rugg, bum-bast, fustian, and haire, price the makeinge

To Robert Grigg for eight yards of greene fatten for the said sute, at 17s. the yard — — vjl. xvjs.

To Alexander Wilfon for cutting and raising the same — — xls.

To Robert Grigge for thirteen yards and half of taffata to lace under the cuffs, and to line them, at 15s. — — xl. ijs. vjd.

To him, for half a yard of fatten for the collar, at 17s. — — viijs. vjd.

To Alexander Wilfon for two ells and half of Holland for the same sute, at 10s. — xxvs.

To him for five yards of baies at 4s. xxs.

To

Prince HENRY, eldest Son of JAMES I.

91

To him for two ells of canvas at 3s. 4d.	vjs.	vijjd.
To him for two yards of rugg at xxd.	iijs.	iiijd.
To him for 1lb and half of bumbast, at 18d.	—	—
three yards fustian, at 18d.	—	—
two lb. haire, at 18d.	—	—
To him for making a cloake of green velvet, uncut, laid with greene silk lace, lined with green fatten, printed and rased in manner of embrod. and also an ell high with flowers, filke, stiching, and sewing rebens and buckerame, price the making	xxxs.	
To Robert Grigge, for eight yards of greene uncut velvet for the same cloake, at 29s.	—	—
To him for eight yards of greene fatten to line the same cloke, at 17s. the yard	xjl.	xijjs.
To Alexander Wilson for pinking and raising the same	—	—
To him for two yards of buckram, at 20d.	iijs.	iiijd.
Making a doublett and hose of white fatten, striped with silver, cut out with carnation taffata, lined next the shirt with carnation taffata, with white taffata to laie under the cuffs, fatten to the collar, laied with silver passamine lace, silver buttons, silver loop lace, silk, stiching, and sewing, and small furnishings, as above,	—	—
The fatten, three yards at 70s.	x l.	xs.
Alexander Wilson cutting the same	—	—
The taffata, four yards, at 16s.	—	—

Making a doublet and hose of narrow, changeable, watred silk grograine garled, laid with carnation watchet filke galowne lace, cutt out with carnation taffata laid under the cutts with white taffata, with carnation taffata next the shirte, facings and pockets, fatten to the collar, silk, stiching, and sewing, silk buttons, rebens, and small furniture as before —

v l.

The grograine ten yards and half at 20s. x l.

xs.

Cutting the same — —

xiijs.

Making a white graie cloth cloake, laide about with ashe color filke, and silver broad lace, lined with ashe color velvet, laid down the brefts with ashe-color filke, and silver buttons, &c. making —

xxxxs.

The clothe two yards and halfe at 30s.

lxxvs.

The velvet eight yards, 28s. 6d.

xj l.

viijs.

Making a side hunting coate of green chamblett, wrought all thicke with green filke galowne in 2, together with a whood of the same chamblett, and laid all thick with the same lace, the bodies, and sleeves, and whood, lined with greene velvet, the side skirts lined with green taffata, filke buttons, loope lace, filke, stichinge, and sewings, and buckeram, price the making

v l.

Twelve yards green chamblett, at 10s.

vj l.

Four yards green velvet, at 26s.

v l.

iijs.

Three yards green taffata at 15s.

lxs.

A jerkin of black frizade, lined with shag

Sixteen

Sixteen gold buckles with pendants and
touns to buckle a pair of golosles with gold

1s.

One pair of gloves lined through with
velvett, and laid with three gold laces, and
gold fringe, curled —

1xs.

Two pair of cordevant gloves, perfumed
and laid with broad silver lace, and fringe
curled, at 32s. — —

1xiiijs.

Four pair of staggs leather gloves per-
fumed and fringed with gold and silver
fringe, at 16s. — —

1xiiijs.

Six pair of plain gloves with coloured
tops, being very well perfumed, at 6s.

36s.

Six pair plain gloves with colored tops,
and some white tops, at 3s

Twelve pair fine gloves stiched, the fingers
and the tops white silk and silver, and some
trymmed with taffata and reben, at 11s.

Silk hoase 55s. a pair.

Silk garters at 12s.

A little box with chefs men, 6s.

Fine bone laces made of fitten thred, at
10s. a yard.

Other bone lace, at 3s. 4d.

Long Spanish reben, points tagged, at
48s. a grosse,

Large silk and silver buttons and loops,
with diverse hanging buttons at the ends, at
53s. 4d. the dozen.

Naples silk garters, 8s. the pair.

Two pair of rich filk and silver double raines, with buttons and caules of silver, at 8l. a pair.

Silver and filk fringe and lace, 5s. an oz.

Embroidering an hatband with several forts of pearle, having set among the pearle rubies, emrods, and opals ; having also three score great pearls, 26l.

Pearl and workmanship of a plume of feathers, 40s.

Embroidering two muffs, viz. one of cloth of silver, embroidered with purples, plates, and Venice twists of silver and gold, the other of black fatten embroidered with black filk and bugles, viz. for one 7l. the other 60s.

Holland for shirts, 13s. 4d. an ell.

Night cloths, 11s.

Sheets, 9s.

Embroidering a jerkin and a pair of panes of perfumed leather, wrought about with gold, silver, and coloured filk, 45l.

A case for a watch, embroidered with pearl, 20s.

Fine camerick, at 21s. an ell.

Ditto, at 13s.

Fine lawn, a piece, 13l. 12s.

Broad Damask for tabling, 10s. a yard.

Narrow ditto for napkins, 3s. 4d.

French uncut velvet at 28s. a yard.

French

French green fatten, at 17s.
White millen fustian for blankets, 4s.
Beavers of divers colours, lined with fatten
or taffata, 6os. apiece.
Plumes of feathers, 4os.
A band embroidered with pearle, 4l.
Ditto gold, 3os.
Silk bands, 6s.
Black embroidered bands, 6s. 8d.
New dying and lining three beavers with
taffata or fatten, at 5s.
One hundred and fifty-seven pair of shoes
at 3s. 6d.
One ditto laced, 3s. 6d.
One pair of golossians, 6s.
Thirty-four pair of bootes, faced, with
thirteen yards fatten, of colours, and three
yards velvet, of colours, at 12s.
Facing the boots 18d. a pair.
Pair of spurs guilt and hatched with silver,
and cut rowells, 22s.
Twelve launce heads hatched and gilt,
at 10s.
Making shirts at 5s.
Fine small thred, 4s. an ounce.
A sword and dagger, damaskind with
gold, and cut in iron, 6l.
A rapier hatched, silvered, and chased,
with velvet scaberd, and silver handle,
6os.

Two

Two waistcoats of fine camericke,
wrought verie curiously in color filke,
lined with taffata farfenet, bound with sil-
ver lace, 50l.

Broad fine bone lace made of sitten thred,
at 20s.

Broad cloth, 15s. a yard.

Total 4574l. 14s. ob.

Great Wardrobe.

XIV. *Copy of a Survey made of what remained in the Armoury of the Tower of London, in consequence of a Commission issued August 2, 1660, 12 Charles II. Communicated by William Bray, Esq. F. R. A. SS.*

Read Dec. 13, 1792.

ON the Restoration of king Charles the Second, William Legg, Esq. was restored to the office of Master of the Armories, in the Tower of London, Greenwich, and elsewhere, from which he had been outed in the late distractions. Previous to his entering on the said office, he requested a survey to be made of what remained in the armoury; and thereupon a commission, dated August 2d, in the twelfth year of his Majesty's reign, 1660, was directed to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Colonel William Asheburnham, Sir Thomas Armstrong, knight, John Wood, and Bartholomew Beale, Auditors of the Imprests, to take the remaynes of all the armes, tooles, and other utensills, in the Tower of London, and magazines and storehouses at Greenwich.

The survey was accordingly made in the month of October 1660.

It would be tedious to mention the particular numbers of each kind, but it may be of some curiosity to shew of what sorts the armour consisted, and what ancient armour had been left untouched in the time of confusion.

The sorts of armour enumerated in this survey, an attested copy of which is in possession of Mrs. Tucker, of Betchworth castle, in Surrey, are as follows :

Breasts.

Backes.

Harquebuzers and other horsemen's armours, viz.

Head peeces.

Strong harquebuzee armor, consisting of backe breast placket.

Head peeces and taces.

Dutch horsemen's head peeces with single barrs.

Curasseers armours, with their furniture, viz.

Cloze white Curasseer head peeces.

Cushes.

Knee capps.

Flemish pouldrons with vambraces [*a*].

Light horsemen's armes wanting two pair of taces [*b*].

White Curasseer armes complete for tilting [*c*].

Tilting armor for curasseers, consisting of backe, breast, pouldrons, vambraces, taces, and collar.

Large white armor complete, said to be John of Gaunt's [*d*].

Small white armor cap a pe, said to be prince Henry's.

[*a*] To guard the shoulder and arm. Grose, p. 22.

[*b*] Or tassets to cover the thighs. Ibid.

[*c*] The cuirass covered the body before and behind. Grose, p. 19.

[*d*] The helmet is engraved in Grose's ancient armour, pl. 8.

Danish foot armes, viz. breasts, backs, taces.

Danish breasts, with crosses girdles.

Armour of Toyras provision, breasts, backs, head peeces, whereof some were made in England to wear with the said armes.

Corshetts and curates, with their furniture, viz. curate breasts, backs, head peeces, taces, coome murrions, and other old head peeces and capps, gorgets, murrions, white field head peeces.

Masking armor complete, reported to be made for king Henry the Seventh.

Foot armes, black and plaine, black and guilt.

Pace guards, russet, white [e].

Grand guards, russet white [f].

Vambraces, plaine, guilt.

Old grave.

Culet or Guardreine [g].

Mainefaires, russet, white [b].

Vamplers for tilting staves.

White short gauntlets.

White tilt collers.

Flemish gauntlets, short, long.

Amunicion swords.

[e] In tilting armour, on each shoulder was fixed a plate, declining from the face like wings, intended to protect the eyes from the point of the lance. Grose, page 24.

[f] In tilting armour, the shoulder and breast were covered by a plate called a grand guard, which fastened on at the stomach. Ibid, p. 24.

[g] A piece of armour hooked on to the back of the cuirass for protection of the reins. Ibid, p. 21.

[b] To guard the neck of the horse from the stroke of a cutting sword. Ib. p. 30.

Belts for fwords.

Saddles for great horses.

Battle axes.

Wood crosses to hang armor upon.

Sundry other armes and parcels of armor, ammunition, &c.
(viz.)

Shaffroones [i].

Launces, and launce staves.

Great launces, whereof two are said to be king Henry the Seventh's and one Charles Brandon's duke of Suffolke.

Pikes.

Great hearse of John of Gaunt.

Spanish collar for torture taken in 1588.

Two hand fwords.

Shields guilt.

Targets of iron.

Buckelers of iron.

Wooden buckelers.

Barbes for bestes wanting one shaffroon.

Anticke head piece, with rainshornes collar and spectacles upon it, one tacke, and one sword, all said to be William Sommers' armes.

Armorers Tooles.

Small Bickernes.

Tramping Stakes.

[i] Or chanfrons, or champfrein, to protect the horse's face.

Round

Round stake.
Welting stakes.
Straite sheeres.
Fileing tonges.
Hamers.
Old tew iron.
Great square anvill.
Bellows.
Smiths vices.
Threstles.

In the Clofet within the Armoury at the Tower.

Armor of king Henry the Eighth, cap a pe, being
rough from the hammer [k].

Long elbow gauntletts.

Strong brefts and plackets.

Male jackets.

Powder, half a barrell.

Sundry compleat Armor, and others, whereof some of them
were formerly standing at Greenwich, in the green gallerie
there, viz.

Upon a horse statue of wood, one compleat tilt armor,
cap a pe richly guilt, part engraven, part damasked, made
for prince Henry, with two gauntletts, and one guilt grand
guard, the horse furniture being one shaffroone of the same
fort, one old leather fadle and bitt.

[k] The helmet engraved by Grose, plate VIII. the rest plate XIX.

Upon

Upon a like horſe, one armour cap a pe, white and guilt, made for king Henry the Eighth, the horſe furniture being one ſhaffroone breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame fort, one old ſaddle and bitt.

Upon a like horſe, one armor cap a pe damasked and guilt, made for king Henry the Seventh; the horſe furniture being a ſhaffroon crivet for the necke, breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame, ſaddle, ſtirrups and bitt.

Upon a like horſe one armor cap a pe white, engraven, and parcell guilt, made for king Edward the Third. The horſe furniture being one ſhaffroone crivet for the necke, breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame, an old ſadle and bitt.

Upon a like horſe one curaffeere armor richly guilt and engraven, made for his late majeſty of ever bleſſed memory Charles the Firſt. The horſe furniture being one ſhaffroona of the ſame, and an old ſadle.

Upon a like horſe, one white armor cap a pe, made for king Edward the Fourth. The horſe furniture are ſhaffroone, crivet for the necke, breſt plate, buttocke, and one old ſadle, with two gauntlets, and a pace guard.

Upon a like horſe, one armor made for king Henry the Sixth, conſiſting of an head piece, backe, breſt, a pair of pouldrons and vambraces, a pair of greaves and a pace guard. The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, and an old ſadle and a bitt.

Upon a like horſe, one armor compleat, cap a pe engraven with the ragged ſtaffe, made for the earle of Leiceſter. The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, crivet for the necke, and breſt plate of the ſame, one ſadle, bitt, and reines.

Upon a like horſe, one armor compleate, cap a pe white and plaine, made for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke.

The

The horse furniture being a shaffroone, brest plate, and buttocke of the same, one sadle, bitt, and bridle.

Upon a like horse, one armor compleat, cap a pe white and plaine, made for William the Conqueror. The horse furniture being a shaffroone, crivet for the necke, with a sadle, bridle, and stirrups.

In several trunckes brought from Mr. Annesley's house in the Tower were several armours richly guilt and graven, made for king Charles the First, Charles the Second when prince; some with bosses of gold, and corded with silver.

Foot armor of Henry the Eighth, richly guilt, consisting of backe, brest, and placket [1], taces, gorget, a burgonet, with a buffe or chin peece.

Sheeves of male, with a velvet coat to them.

Armor sent his now majestie Charles the Second, by the Great Mogull, consisting of backe, brest, baces, head peece, vizard, and peeces of the greaves.

GREENWICH.

They found, upon view and information of divers officers of the armory, shopkeepers, and others, that during the time of the late distractions, the several armes, amunition, and habiliments of war, formerly remaining in the Greene Gallery at Greenwich, were all taken and carried away by fundry soldiers who left the door open; that fundry of the said armes were afterwards brought to the Tower of London, by Mr. Annesley, where they were then remaining; that the wainscot in the said gallery was then all pulled down and carried away, and, as they were informed, was employed in wainscotting the house in the Tower where the said Mr. An-

[1] An additional plate to strengthen the breast piece. Grose, p. 21.

nesley lived ; that a great part of the feeling was very much ruined, and the whole house much decayed ; that all the several tooles, and other utensills for making of armour, formerly remaining in the Master Armourer's work-house there, and at the armourer's mill, were also at the time of the said distractions taken and carried away, except some few things ; that fundry of the tooles and other things had been sold to private persons ; that the great anvill, called the great beare, was then in the custody of Mr. Michael Basten, locksmith, at Whitehall ; and the anvill, called the little beare, was in the custody of Mr. Thomas Cove, one of his majesty's armourers ; the mill, formerly employed in glazeing and cleaning armes, was destroyed and converted to other uses by one Woodman, who claimed it by a grant from king James, of blessed memory, but the officers of the armoury then had it in their possession.

This report is signed by

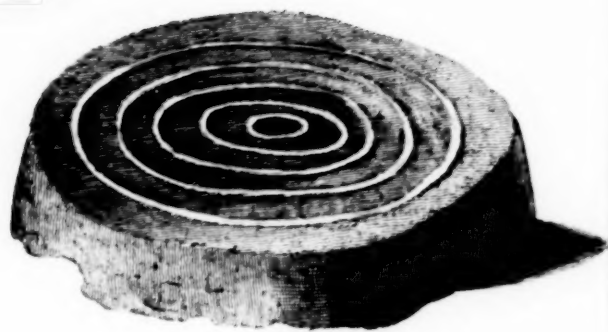
J. ROBINSON, Li. Gen. Toure.

JOHN WOOD,

BARTH. BEALE.



ANSIEPHARR



Bronze vessels found in Scotland.

XV. *Account of a Brass Vessel found near Dumfries in Scotland, 1790.* By Robert Riddell, Esq. F. A. S.

Read Jan. 31, 1793.

THE antiquities here delineated [a] were found in a moss about a mile from Friers Carle, in summer 1790, by the workmen forming the turnpike road from Dumfries to Sanquhar. They consisted of two vessels very like modern saucepans, and the one was within the other, and fitted it most exactly. They are brass, tinned in the inside, and very neatly made. The one now entire, will hold near a quart, and the bottom is raised in circular ornaments exactly like the bottom of the broken one, which is delineated here. The outer one was broken through the stupidity of those who found them, but the inner one is entire; on its handle is in Roman capitals what I imagine to be the maker's name.

It does not appear that these vessels were ever put on the fire, for the bottom of each is neatly formed with raised rings, highly polished, and not in the least defaced by the action of fire. Captain Grose, who was with me when they were found, said he saw a similar one found in the fens of Lincolnshire.

[a] See plate VIII.

[156]

XVI. *Notices of Fonts in Scotland.* By Robert Riddell,
Esq. F. A. S. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.

Read Jan. 31, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

ALLOW me, in return for the great pleasure your excellent account of English fonts in the tenth volume of the *Archæologia* afforded me, to present you with drawings of some Scottish fonts, in my small collection of antiquities at Friars Carle. If you think them worthy the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, they are at your disposal as you see proper. At the time of the Reformation in Scotland the mob demolished their sacred basins, by breaking and mutilating them, with a barbarous and bigoted zeal, so that few of them now are to be met with, and those much defaced. I have collected specimens of all the varieties I have seen; octangular, circular, square, oblong, and four-sided ones [a]. The first is *Morton* font. I found it buried in a heap of rubbish in a neglected corner of the churchyard. It is an octagon of red free-stone, with different crosses neatly carved upon each side, and has a hole in the bottom of an inch diameter. The second I found in the church-yard of *Dalgarren*; it is an octagon of white free-stone, with a hole in the

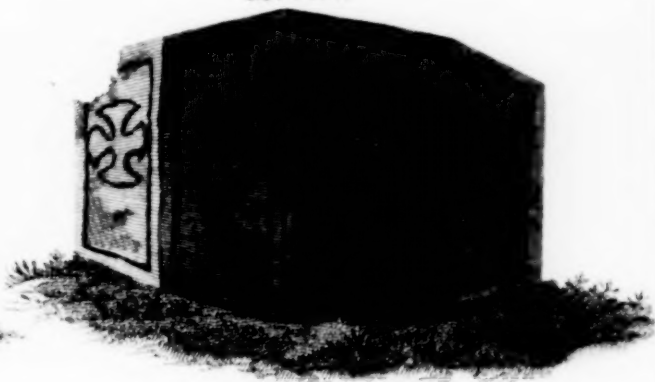
[a] See plate IX.

bottom,

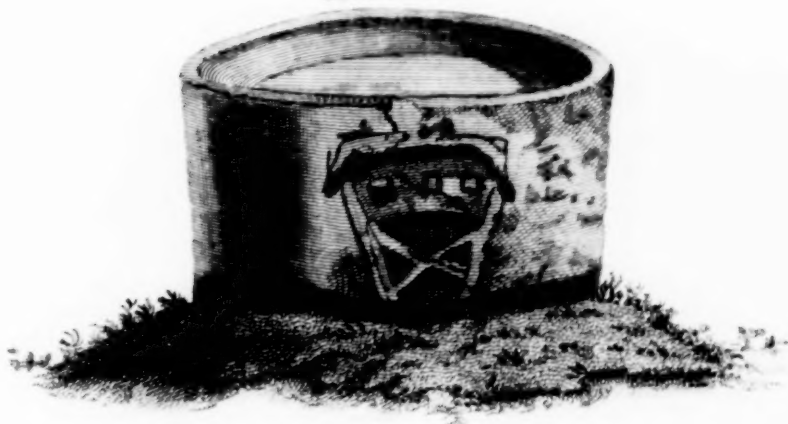
Dunscore



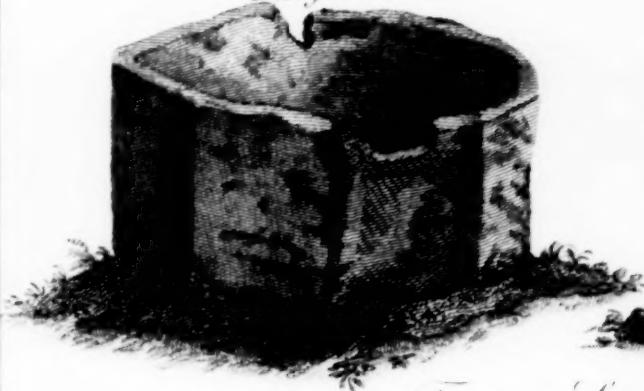
Morton



Mouswald



Dalgarno



Dunscore



Fonts in Scotland.

bottom, but no carving upon it. The third was at the old church of *Dunscore*; it is of red free-stone, much broken, and has no hole in the bottom; on it are the arms of Kilpatrick, of Cloesburn.

The fourth I found in the church-yard at *Moufswald*; it is circular, of red free-stone, and has no hole in the bottom; on it are the arms of Tortherwald of Tortherwald, a very considerable family, which ended in an heiress in the time of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland: the shield is mantled with an angel's head and wings, much broken and defaced.

The fifth came from *Duncore* church; it seems to have been fixed in a niche in the wall, and an aperture in the back carried off the water; the figure an oblong square.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

Friers Carfe,
Dec. 31, 1792.

R. RIDDELL.

XVII. *Evidence of a Lavatory, appertaining to the Benedictine Priory of Canterbury Cathedral; and Observations on Fonts. By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. S. A. In a Letter to Richard Gough, Esq. Director.*

Read Jan. 31, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

IN your copious description and illustration of fonts, inserted in the tenth volume of *Archæologia*, N° XXIV. at note 1, p. 201, you have suggested, that Mr. Gostling seems to have given up his conjecture that the dome on the North side of Canterbury cathedral, and placed opposite to the entrance into the East cross aisle, was a baptistery; and that I think the edifice was a lavatory. Concerning both these points it is my intention to trouble you with some observations, and to add miscellaneous remarks on fonts in this country, which you will be pleased to transmit to our brethren in Somerset Place, should you deem the paper worthy of their attention.

To your hint of Mr. Gostling's having relinquished his notion, I must beg leave to express my dissent. My deceased respectable friend, as is well known to those who were his most intimate acquaintance, was one of the many who chuse to abide by an opinion they have themselves formed; and it happened to him (as is the case with not a few of us) to become more tenacious of his own opinion as he advanced in life,

life [a]. When he first read my doubts, whether he had been quite happy in his conjecture that the building in question had been a baptistery, and my surprise at its having been applied to a different use, he condescended to acknowledge that I had offered proofs in support of my conjecture, which had in a great measure destroyed his own [b]; but after farther consideration, in the second edition of his entertaining Walk [c], which, together with the appendix, prepared and approved by himself, was printed from his own corrected copy, he averred that 'he still thought his conjecture of its being a baptistery full as reasonable as any that had appeared to the contrary [d].' The conceived recantation of his opinion is not in the appendix, but in the addenda [e], which, as implied in the advertisement, was written by another person; who also controverted with success a notion of Mr. Somner, adopted and maintained by Mr. Gostling, concerning the situation of the Strangers Hall, by clearly shewing from Eadwyn's drawing, and from other unexceptionable evidence, that the Strangers hall stood in a distant part of the monastery; and that the building taken for it was really the Aula Nova of Eadwyn, afterwards called the North hall, and the high court of that religious house, whence it derived the appellation of *Hoge hall* [f]. The person who penned the greater part of the addenda was the late Dr. Beauvoir, a learned member of our Society, to whom the author of the Walk acknowledged his obligation for the very curious and

[a] See a letter from Dr. Pegge, in *Gent. Mag.* vol XLIX. p. 405.

[b] *Gent. Mag.* vol. XLV. p. 13.

[c] See advertisement to this edition.

[d] Walk in and about Canterbury, p. 186.

[e] *Ibid.* p. 398.

[f] *Ibid.* p. 397.

ingenious account of the windows ornamented with coloured glass. And had there been, from the primacy of Lanfranc to the period of the dissolution of the priory, any trace of the use of a baptistery, I concur in opinion with Dr. Beauvoir, that the proper situation for it would have been on the South side of the church, where the laity could have had an easy access to it, and not in a quarter of the precinct that communicated with a covered gallery, through which the monks regularly passed to the church from their dormitory, a place of great privacy, to which no secular was to have access without a special permission. It was from this circumstance, and from reading in the constitutions of archbishop Lanfranc, for the better government of the monks of his cathedral, that they were generally to wash their hands previously to their going into the choir, that I formed my conjecture. And, in order to satisfy you of its not being a very vague surmise, I have subjoined some of the decrees alluded to, in one of which you will see the term lavatory occurs [g]. Its having been, as marked

[g] Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Britan. vol. I.

Page 329, c. 1. Dominica prima hujus mensis (Octobris) cum appropinquerit tempus horæ tertie, pulsatur a secretario modice signum minimum quam *Skillem* vocant, et statim pergant (a claustro) in dormitorium, et calcient se diurnalibus, et cultellos accipiant; deinde ad *Lavatorium* veniant, et prius lavent se, et postea pectinent, deinde ad ecclesiam veniant, aquam benedictam sumant, in chorum vadant.

Page 329, c. 2. Quarta et sexta feria, cum tempus processionis secretarius instare prospexerit, sonet unum de mediocribus signis, quo audito, statim silentium fiat in claustro—discalcient se, manus abluant, in ecclesiam vadant.

Page 331, c. 1. In nocte dominicæ Nativitatis omnia signa primum pulsantur. In tertio nocturno—tunc fratres qui ad missam induendi sunt vadant ad locum constitutum, ubi sit optimus ignis a famulis camerariis præparatus: baccilia quoque et manutergia et aqua calida ad abluendas manus. Hac sola vice antequam lavent,

marked in Eadwyn's drawing [*b*], supplied with water, corroborates my idea; and more weight is added to it, from there certainly

lavent, pectent capita sua. Alio enim tempore, prius lavent, postea pectinant. Post hæc pergant in ecclesiam, et facta oratione induant se ad celebrandam missam: sacerdos honorifice, levita, dalmatica, duo subdiaconi tunicis.

Page 332, c. 2. Apparente luce—signo audito, expedite surgentes omnes, et abluti manus et facies, qui ad missam induendi sunt vadant in oratorium, factaque oratione induantur, sicut ad priorem missam—expleta missa vadant in dormitorium calciare se, postea solito more fori, et pexi faciant in oratorio orationes tres solitas; dicta tertia, omnes induti cappis processionem faciant.

Page 333, cap. 1. In his duabus feriis (Dominica prima quadragesimæ quarta et sexta) post nonam sedeant in clauistro—tunc discalcient se omnes et lavent manus, veniantque in chorum.

P. 334, c. 2. Dominica in Palmis ad invitatorium duo in albis—post matutinalem missam benedicatur aqua, ad quam sint omnes albis induti, fiat processio, &c. Post mensam in meridiana hora in lectis suis quiescant. Appropinquante horâ nonâ pulset secretarius signum minus modice. Tunc omnes et lavent manus et facies, et pectent se, et pergant in ecclesiam, sedeantque in choro. Cum infantes loti fuerint et ad tersoria ire ceperint, pulsante majus signum secretario, surgant omnes de sedilibus et ingressis chorum infantibus faciant prius orationem, postea cantent nonam.

P. 340, c. 2. Diebus Rogationum—cantata sexta vadant in dormitorium, sicut alio tempore quando meridianis horis in lectis quiescere solent, et facto intervallo parvissimo, pulsetur skilla; dehinc nudis pedibus de dormitorio descendant, manus abluant, ad ecclesiam vadant, orationem faciant.

Page 341, c. 2. Feria secunda (Pentecostes) post sextam agatur meridiana: a qua surgentes nudis pedibus in claustrum veniant afferentes calciamenta sua: post abluti et pectinati veniant in ecclesiam, et facta oratione, pulsatisque duobus signis, inchoet infans *Exsurge Domine*, et cetera. Sicut longe superius dictum est, hic ordo servandus est feria quarta et sexta usque ad festivitatem Omnium Sanctorum, nisi sit vigilia, cujus missa solennius celebretur, tunc enim processio ex toto dimittitur.

Post sextam in dormitorium vadant, et post parvissimum intervallum pulsato minimo signo descendant, lavent, ad monasterium pergant, factaque oratione, dictaque litania, missam celebrent.

In Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, v. II. p. 440, is this passage.—'At Norwich monastery, the Cellarer's lodgings were on the South side of the cloister, on

certainly having been, almost contiguous to the South wall of the Presbytery in Rochester cathedral, a lavatory placed near the vestiary, used by the monks who were to be dressed in the sacred habits for the celebration of mass [i].

Mr. Gostling, with the lively vein of humour that made his friends listen with pleasure to a defence of his peculiar notions, expresses a surprise that some should conceive so public and elegant a chapel (for so, without any authority, he chose to style this dome) could be designed for combing of heads and washing of hands [k]; but, in reply, may it not be truly said that the merry Peripatetic judged of former times by the present, regardless of the opinions and manners of the fraternity who inhabited the adjoining apartments! By one of his opponents it was properly observed, that copious ablutions were necessary to the monks from their not wearing linen, and from the rare change of their woollen habits [l]; and perhaps, from the same cause, a very frequent attention to the other article of cleanliness might be no less requisite. This will account for there being four rooms, into which, according to Eadwyn's drawing, water was conveyed; and for Lanfranc's

which the Refectory, or common hall, kitchen, cellar, and buttery, were placed by the dormitory, or dortour, all which are now standing, converted to other uses. On the left hand as you go out of the door of the South-west corner of the cloister is the lavatory *, or washing place, where the monks washed their hands there being as much good fellowship in washing as in eating together.

[b] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. II. pl. XV.

[i] *Customale Rossense*, p. 30. *De famulis ecclesiæ quid facere debent.*—*Similiter accendunt lucernam post cantica ad lavatorium pro illis qui vestiendi sunt.* See also the Memorials of the Church of Rochester, in the same volume, p. 177.

[k] *Walk*, p. 186.

[l] *Gent. Mag.* vol. XLIV. p. 553.

* A lavatory was thus placed in the cloisters of Westminster abbey; the water came in by a conduit, and ran out at bottom, as it did here, the pipe for this purpose now appearing.

repeated injunctions to wash, and often to comb, especially when some of them were to be the chief ministers, and all were to join in the celebration of divine offices. A striking instance of the great stress he laid upon their combing their heads is manifest in his punctilious direction relative to it on the night preceding Christmas day ; at which time only they were to comb their heads before they washed their hands, whereas at other times they might wash before the comb was used. The archbishop has not specified his motive for this curious distinction, nor am I able to assign a plausible reason.

As to the elegance of this rotunda in the style of structure, and in its decorations, how few buildings were there appertaining to the monastery that were deficient in these respects : and from the situation of the edifice close to the door of the private oratory of the prior, it may be presumed that, agreeably to the decrees of Lanfranc, he would, as he passed to the choir, occasionally make use of this lavatory. However, to Mr. Gostling's facetious innuendo, a description of a dressing-room of the Benedictines of Durham cathedral, from a MS alleged to have been written by Prior Westington, is a complete answer : ' Within the cloyster garth, over against the Frater-house door, was a *fine laver or conduit*, for the monks to wash their hands and faces in, being in form round, covered with lead, and all of marble, excepting the outer wall, within which they might walk about the laver. It had many spouts of brass, and seven windows of stonework in it, and above, a dovecoat covered with lead. *The workmanship was both fine and costly.* Adjoining to the East side of the conduit door hung a bell, to call the monks at eleven o'clock to wash before dinner. In the closets, or almeries, on each side of the Frater-house door, in the clois-

'ters, towels were kept white and clean to dry their hands upon [m].'

But though the edifice under review might be, and I see no room to hesitate about its really being, a lavatory, it will not follow that there might not be, at an earlier period, a baptistery detached from Canterbury cathedral; and if credit is to be given to Osbern, in his *Life of Archbishop Bregwin*, Cuthbert, who was primate from the year 742 to 759, built, almost contiguous to the East end of the great church, a church in which he designed that baptisms should be celebrated; courts held for examining and correcting offenders, and archbishops interred [n]. For the word *baptisteria*, in the passage referred to clearly means, and is often used in the same sense by other writers, the office, and not the place of baptism, so that Cuthbert's church might, with as much propriety, have been termed a consistory court, or a mausoleum, as a baptistery.—The fourteenth constitution of the synodical assembly of abbats and priests, held anno 578, at Antisiodorum [Auxerre], forbade interments in baptisteries. (*In baptisteriis mortui sepeliri vetantur*. Dufresne.) In the translation of Dupin's *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. vi. p. 152, the word is rendered *fonts*; but *baptisteria* must here mean the edifices in which fonts were placed.

Sir Henry Englefield (*Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 186. note m.) mentions sarcophagi being converted to fonts. In Keyser's

[m] Mr. Hutchinson's *History and Antiquities of Durham*, vol. II. p. 65, note. From Davies' *Rites of Durham*, 1672, p. 10.

[n] Qui Ecclesiam in Orientali parte majoris ecclesiæ eidem pene contiguam in honore beati Johannis Baptistæ fabricavit; ut et baptisteria, et examinationes judiciorum pro diversis causis ad correctionem scelerum inibi celebrarentur; et Archiepiscoporum corpora in ea sepelirentur. Angl. Sacr. vol. II. p. 75.

Travels, vol. III. p. 11. there is a description of a marble font in the cathedral of Gaeta, in Italy, that has embellishments very improper for a vase of that kind. Four lions form the pedestal, and the basso relievos of exquisite workmanship exhibit fauns and satyrs dancing, and Mercury delivering Bacchus to Ino to be nursed. Keyser says it was brought from the ruins of Formiae to Gaeta, and he with reason supposes it to have belonged to a temple of Bacchus.

Concerning Cuthbert's church is there not, however, in the Walk [o], an implied endeavour to have it understood that the dome so often mentioned might be considered as appertaining to it? for, Mr. Gostling's expression is, that the archbishop erected a *magnificent range of buildings*, almost contiguous to the East end of the cathedral, for baptisteries, ecclesiastical courts, and a place of sepulture for the archbishops, *with a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist*. But Mr. Gostling must have cited from memory, there not being in Osbern's history any such words as a *magnificent range of buildings*; the only edifice mentioned being the church, in honour of John Baptist, which was to be applied to three several uses there specified. Besides, the church was almost contiguous to the East part of the cathedral, and the dome is directly opposite to the North cross aisle of the choir, and between these two buildings, as is manifest from Eadwyn's drawing, and the ichnographies in Cantuaria Sacra, and the Walk, there is a long tract of ground, covered partly by Lanfranc with the infirmary and its offices, and including some apartments allotted to the prior, with a court belonging to the dormitory.

To the sixth century baptisteries were placed without the walls of the church; though it is admitted that some then be-

gan to be taken into the church porch, and they were afterwards removed into the church. Antiently there was only one baptistery in a city or diocese, and that at the episcopal church; but in the fourth century, Paulinus, bishop of Nola, erected in that city a baptistery between two churches, and the Council of Auxerre, anno 578, speaks of baptisteries in villages at Easter, by allowance [p]. Of these detached baptisteries there are a few remaining abroad; that at Florence is one of them, which is, however, mentioned by Dufresne, as being very seldom used; *nulli fere usui* [q].

Archbishop Cuthbert's church near Canterbury cathedral, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, is the only edifice of the kind that has been traced in England; nor could this be intended for the use of persons in remote parts of his diocese; for by the ninth canon of the council of Cloveshoo, held anno 747, in the eighth year of his Pontificate, it was enjoined that priests in the places and districts assigned to them should take care to discharge the duty of apostolical commission, in baptising according to lawful rite; and in the eleventh canon all priests are directed to study to perform their sacerdotal ministry in one and the same mode of baptising [r].

By the fifth canon published in the reign of Edgar, anno 960, every priest was instructed to perform baptism as soon as

[p] Bingham's Antiquities, B. VIII. c. vii. f. 6.

[q] Yet Mr. Watkins in his Travels, l. 287, says, all the children of Florence are baptized in it.

[r] Wilkins, Concil. v. l. p. 96. art. ix. *Ut presbyteri per loca et regiones laicorum quæ sibi ab episcopis provinciæ insinuata et injuncta sint evangelicæ prædicationis officium in baptizando, et docendo, et visitando sub legitimo ritu ac diligenti cura studeant explere.* Art. xi. *Ut cuncti presbyteri omne sacerdotale suum ministerium, uno eodemque modo et ratione in baptizando et docendo, &c. studeant agere.*

it was required of him ; and he was to give it in charge to his parish, that the baptism of an infant was not to be delayed beyond thirty-seven days [s]. But by the tenth law of the Northumbrian priests, anno 950, the child was to be baptized within nine days, and, in case of neglect, a penalty of *six ore* (which means an ounce) was incurred [t]. The mass priest was also, by the third ordinance of the Ecclesiastical laws of the kings Alfred and Guthrun, enacted by common consent, anno 878, subject to a mulct, if he did not fetch the chrism duly at the appointed time (Maundy Thursday), or refused to baptize in case of necessity [u]. All which rules shew that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the baptistery at a cathedral could not be in general use.

How long the inhabitants of Canterbury and its environs might be expected, or permitted, to resort for baptism to the church built by archbishop Cuthbert, cannot be ascertained. But, after this district was divided into parishes, it may be reasonably presumed that the churches were made baptismal, when of course the above cited canons in their letter and spirit would extend to the officiating priests. And if they regularly applied for the chrism, and paid the customary fee, it was probably considered as a sufficient acknowledgment of their dependance in this case upon the cathedral church.

St. Martin's church, which may be within half a mile of the cathedral, has a font, which Mr Gostling thought deser-

[s] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 226. art. xv. Docemus etiam ut quilibet sacerdos baptismum peragat simulac requiritur, et deinde in parochia sua præcipiat intra xxxvii dies.

[t] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 218. art. ix. Si presbyter justo tempore chrismi non querat, solvat xii oras.—x. Quilibet infans mature baptizetur intra ix dies sub pœna vi orarum, &c.

[u] Johnson's Coll. of Ecclesiastical Laws.

ving of notice as a venerable piece of antiquity, and you have also remarked that the form, as well as its ornaments, pleads strongly in favour of this opinion [v.]

As to fonts in England, Mr. Carte suggests his not recollecting to have observed the word before the time of the archbishop Edmund, as I suppose him to mean [w], because he presently adds his having referred to a canon of that primate in which the word occurs. Mr. Johnson, however, in his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, under the year 957, has inserted in the thirty-seventh canon of Elfric this injunction. 'Let no oil be put into the *font*, except a child be there baptized.' What may be the Saxon word he has thus rendered I am not aware, not having it in my power to examine the MS. he has cited. But William of Malmfbury uses the word *fons*, when reciting the monkish tale of Dunstan's having prognosticated that Ethelred, the son of Edgar, would be a poltroon, because he had defiled the baptismal water in which he was immersed [x].

Previous to the issuing of the constitutions of archbishop Edmund, I meet with three canons in which is the word *fons*. The first is the council of Durham, anno 1220 [y]. The second the council of Oxford, held anno 1222 [z]. The third the constitution of William de Bleys, bishop of Winchester,

[v] Walk, p. 26. and Archæologia, vol. X. p. 187.

[w] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 212.

[x] De Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. II. c. 10. init. Cum pusiulus in fonte baptismi mergeretur, circumstantibus episcopis alvi profluvio sacramenta interpolavit; quare ille (Dunstanus) turbatus, per deum inquit et matrem ejus ignavus homo erit.

[y] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 576.

[z] Ibid p. 594.

anno 1229 [a]. I also find it in the provincial council of Scotland, anno 1225 [b].

The constitutions of Edmund were published about the year 1236 [c]. In article IX. is the word *fontes*, and in the tenth the term *baptisterium* is repeated. Upon these canons, as upon most other of the ecclesiastical laws which were in force in Lyndwood's time, he has copiously commented; and I will beg leave to consider some of his glosses which are rather questionable, a circumstance not in the least strange in so elaborate a compilation.

Mr. Carte, in his second letter to Dr. Ducarel [d], after quoting two short hints from Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, mentions the difficulty of distinguishing whether they relate to the edifice in which baptism was actually administered, or to the reservoir that contained the water intended for that solemnity, remarking that this is a direction which should be nicely animadverted to in all observations concerning this subject. This is certainly a pertinent precaution, though I

[a] Wilkins, Concil. p. 623.

[b] Ibid. p. 614.

[c] Ibid. p. 636 art. ix. Tit. quod fontes sint sub firma serura. Fontes subserura clausi teneantur propter sortilegia. Chrisma similiter et oleum sacrum sub elave custodiantur.

Art. x. Tit. De Baptisterio, et de aqua baptismali, et quid sit faciendum cum aqua et vase in quibus propter necessitatem pueri domi baptizentur.

Baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali lapideum vel aliud, competens; id decenter cooperiatur, et reverenter conservetur, et in alios usus non convertatur. Aqua vero in qua baptizatus est puer, ultra septem dies in baptisterio non fervetur. Si vero puer a laico domi propter necessitatem fuerit baptizatus aqua propter reverentiam baptismi vel fundatur in ignem, vel ad ecclesiam in baptisterium fundenda deferatur, et vas illud vel comburatur, vel ad usus ecclesiæ deputetur.

[d] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 210.

^a am apt to suspect that in the ecclesiastical canons of this country, *baptisterium* and *fons* may be almost always considered as synonymous. He then suggests that the word *baptisterium* in the canon of archbishop Edmund, to which he had before alluded, was, if he may be allowed to judge, used promiscuously, to signify the place or station for solemnizing baptism, and also the reservoir for holding water. Such also was the opinion of Lyndwood, whose Gloss I imagine Mr. Carte to have had in his thoughts [*e*]; but, as I apprehend, the word *baptisterium*, in all the three instances, denoted the font.

At the beginning, it is said that the baptistery in every church should be of stone, or other (proper) material, and that it should be decently covered. But as the baptistery was not to be without, but in the church, to enjoin that it should have a roof over it, seems to have been superfluous. The cover ordered was, I conceive, to be laid over the vase, and kept fast with a lock, in pursuance of the preceding canon for fear of forcery [*f*], and not such an octagonal stone canopy as is over the font at Luton, which could be no security. This stone chapel, capable of containing with ease seven or eight persons, and encompassing the font, I agree with you, may be properly styled a baptistery, and it may be the only one of the kind in England [*g*]; though it is likely that before our churches had in them so many pews for the congregation, fonts might be more frequently than they are at present, fixed in a pew for the convenience of the sponsors. Several of our country churches are so small as not now to

[*e*] *Baptisterium*, i. e. locus, sive statio baptismatis, sive baptizatorium.

[*f*] "Propter sortilegium," which, according to Lyndwood, was better concealed than explained, quæ honestius est tacere quam dicere."

[*g*] *Archæologia*, vol. X. 195.

admit of such a partition being constructed; and it seems to have been owing to a want of room that fonts were often set up against a pillar; and because they were to be thus rather awkwardly placed, a pannel was left unornamented, as is the case with the curiously sculptured fonts in the churches of Shorne and Southfleet [b].

Baptisterium is likewise the word in the same canon, where directions are given concerning the not keeping in it the consecrated water beyond seven days, and for pouring into it the water used by a layman in baptizing an infant at home from necessity; and in both these instances there cannot, I think, be a doubt of the *font's* being meant.

Of the ninth constitution of the council held at Oxford under archbishop Walter Reynolds, anno 1322, in the passage which requires children, on the third day after confirmation, to be carried to the church, that their foreheads may be washed by the priest in the baptistery, in honour of the chrism; Lyndwood interprets *baptisterium* to be the place where the font stands [i]; though I can see no reason why the washing was not to be made with the water from the font. There could not surely be the least indecorum in this application of the consecrated water, nor any pretence for considering it as re-baptism, because the form of words in the administration of baptism was not to be used. And I am, I think, warranted in concluding Lyndwood's Gloss to be erroneous, from its being declared in the constitution of William de Cantilupe, bishop of Winchester, anno 1240, that the little

[b] Archæol. vol. X. p. 191; and Thorne's Antiquities, p. 112.

[i] Wilkins, Concil, vol. II. p. 512. Item parvuli confirmati tertio die post confirmationem deportentur ad ecclesiam, ut frontes eorum per manus sacerdotum in baptisterio propter reverentiam chrismatis abluantur ibidem.—*Baptist. ria*, i. e. loco in ecclesia, ubi fit baptismus, non enim debes intelligere quod ista lavatio fiat in fonte baptismali, nec de aqua fontis, sed debet fieri in loco ubi scituatur fons, viz. juxta ipsum fontem. Lyndwode.

children who had been confirmed were to be washed in the font of baptism [k].

That the font should be of stone, *vel aliud*, is thus explained by Lyndwood—that any other material of which it was formed should be suitable and decent, viz. such as was solid, durable, strong, and would retain the water poured into it [l]. In some constitutions it is only said, that it shall be of stone; but, according to the provincial synod of Scotland before mentioned, it might be of stone or wood [m]. If, at an early period, there were in England any fonts of wood, it is not likely that they should have lasted to the present age. *Competens* in the canon is interpreted by Lyndwood to be of a size large enough for immersing in the font the baptized infant, which is well expressed in the constitution of bishop William de Cantilupe, that it should be of a proper circumference and depth [n]. And doubtless there are remaining several fonts, of high antiquity, of dimensions sufficient for this purpose. The font in *Wilmington* church is little inferior in size to that in *Darenth* church [o]. It is a block nearly round, excavated into a circular basin lined with lead, having a perforation at the bottom, but without the least embellishment on any part of it. *Darenth* font is rounded

[k] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 667.—Qui confirmati fuerint, post triduum portentur ad ecclesiam, in fonte baptismatis abluendi.

[l] Quæ sit solida, durabilis, fortis, ac aquæ infusæ retentiva.

[m] Lapideum vel ligneum. The font in which the king's children in Scotland were baptized was of brass. Willis, *Mitred Abbeys*, vol. I. p. 15.

Archæol. vol. X. p. 187. You mention four fonts made of lead. It appears from Aubrey (*Antiquities of Surry*, vol. II. p. 290.), that in the church of Walton upon the Hill, there is a very old leaden font adorned with nine figures, in a sitting posture, their faces much mangled.

You inform me that you have since heard of another at Clifton, near Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.

[n] *Competens*, quod baptizandus possit in eo mergi. Lyndwood.

In qualibet ecclesia baptismalis sit fons lapideus, decentis amplitudinis et profunditatis. Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 666.

[o] Mr. Thorpe's *Antiquities*, p. 94.

and excavated. Its brim is three inches in width, the internal diameter twenty-nine [p], the depth seventeen, of which fourteen inches in the lower part, where it is somewhat narrower than at the top, are lined with lead; and at the bottom there is a hole for drawing off the baptismal water. There are on the outside eight compartments with columns alternately circular and angular, and semicircular arches; and, what is remarkable, the capitals of them are nearly similar to those on the Saxon baptistery of the church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, of which Mr. Hearne has given a plate in his preface to the first volume of Leland's Collectanea [q]. A view of Darenth font, from a delineation by Bayley, is exhibited in the late Mr. Thorpe's Antiquities, pl. xi. The subjects of only two of the pannels can be precisely determined; viz. David playing on his harp, and a priest, accompanied with a female figure, baptizing an infant in a font. But there are likewise not a few fonts unquestionably antient, which would not admit of a total immersion or submersion, though immersion, or submersion, not sprinkling, was the enjoined mode of baptizing. Of this number were the fonts in the churches of *Farningham*, *Shorne*, *Southfleet* [r], and *Offam*. A sketch of the last, delineated by my friend Mr. Latham [s], is transmitted; for, it is evident there was, in these, only room for a partial dipping of an infant; perhaps first on the right side, secondly the left, third time the face towards the font, as, after some old rubric, is the direction given in the first book of the Common Prayer of king Edward VI. [t]

In a former page it has been shewn that infant baptism was enjoined to our Saxon ancestors, and needless must it be to

[p] The font at Presnute is *two feet* and an *half* diameter. Archæol. v. X. p. 186.

[q] Copied in Archæol. vol. I. p. 150.

[r] Mr. Thorpe's Antiquities, plate xvii.

[s] Plate X.

[t] Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 340.

offer proofs from our ecclesiastical laws that it was for many succeeding centuries the almost universal practice in this country. The stated times for baptizing were on the eves of Easter and Pentecost; or, to speak more properly, these were the times attempted to be established; it being evident that, from a misconceived idea of the consequence of baptism on these days, many, as the constitution of Otto expresses it, anno 1232-3, being imposed upon by a diabolical fraud, suspected danger if children were then baptized, and would not therefore conform to the canons which enjoined it [*u*]. With the view of gradually removing a prejudice, founded, as it is thought, on the fear of childrens' dying in the intermediate time, the constitution of Othobon, which limited baptism to the two festivals, was so explained by archbishop Peckham, as to allow that children born eight days before Easter, and as many before Pentecost, should be alone reserved to be baptized at those times, if it might be done without danger; but that children born at other times of the year might be baptized according to the old custom, either presently as they are born, or afterwards at the discretion of their parents, not only on account of the danger of sudden death to which children are liable, but for the simplicity of their parents, who are apt to mistake in the form of baptism [*x*]. And as women were admonished to have water in readiness for baptizing the child, when they apprehended the time of delivery to be at hand, and both laymen and women might, in a case of necessity, baptize; it was likewise ordained that the clergy should frequently, on the Lord's day, instruct their pa-

[*u*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 650. Sed quidam in partibus istis diabolica ut audivimus fraude decepti, periculum suspicantur, si præfatis diebus pueri baptizentur.

[*x*] Ibid. vol. II. p. 36.

rishioners in what manner, and with what form of words, it was to be performed [y].

The process of examination of a midwife relative to this ceremony, is thus entered in the consistorial acts of the diocese of Rochester.

'Anno 1523, Oct. 14, Eliz. Gaynsforde, obstetrix, examinata dicit in vim juramenti sui sub hac formâ verborū. I the aforefaid Elizabeth seeing the child of Thomas Everey late born in jeopardy of life, by the authority of my office, then beyng midwyfe, did christen the same child under this manner. In the name of the Fader, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I christen thee Denys ; effundend' meram aquam super caput infantul'. Interrogata erat, whether the childe was born and delivered from the wyfe of the said Thomas ; whereto she answereth and sayth, that the child was not born, for she saw nothing of the child but the hedde, and for perell the childe was in, and in that tyme of nede, she christened as is aforefaid, and caste water with her hand on the child's hede ; after which the child was born, and was had to the churche, where the prieste gave to it that chrystenden that lakkyd, and the child is yet alyf.'

From these rules, indulgencies, and practice, this inference may be deduced, that, probably, in former days, there were fewer infants baptized at the font than there are at present.

[y] Wilkins, Concil. v. II. p. 53. Forma autem sacramenti in lingua vulgari consistit non solum in significatis, verum etiam in ordine eorundem, quo ipsum sacramentum est divinitus institutum ; quo Christus Dominus illis verbis et taliter ordinatis, ut sunt, in lingua Latina regenerativam contulit potestatem. Dicitur ergo sic a taliter baptizantibus ; 'Ich cristin the in the Fadere's name,' &c. vel aliter in lingua materna secundum patriæ consuetudinem, vel in Gallico sic. 'Je baptize tey en noun del peere,' &c.

By divers canons the vessel that had contained the water, in which lay persons had baptized children, was to be devoted to the service of the church. And, could this law have been strictly enforced, it might in a great degree have checked the vanity and pomp of applying silver vessels to this purpose, which Mr. Carte censured in a family at Leicester [2]. And Dr. Daniel Featley, in a sermon delivered in Lambeth church, October 29, 1619, when archbishop Abbot and the duke of Buckingham were godfathers in person, thus noticed the use of vessels still more costly: 'Jesus (exclaimed the energetic preacher) was baptized in the open and common river Jordan; where are they who disdain the common font? no font will serve them but a font of gold new-made, or a silver basin with their arms on it [a].'

Whether there was more than one font in a church is a point repeatedly considered by Mr. Carte, in consequence of *fontes baptismales* being mentioned in a canon of archbishop Edmund. In one passage (p. 210) he says, that it seems to have been a regard to the distinction between the baptismal font, and the baptistery, as denoting the place of its situation, that might occasion the introduction of the words *fons* and *fontes*; but I have already shewn, that in the canon he alludes to, the word *baptisterium* is not used promiscuously, and he afterwards acknowledges (p. 212) that the word *cooperatur* must be applied to the font. In another passage (p. 213) where citing the formulary which allowed to the chapel of Montgomery, on its being advanced to the dignity of a church, to have fonts (*fontes*), he proposes a Query, Whether one for adults, and another for infants? but, as I apprehend,

[2] *Archæolog.* vol. X. p. 221.

[a] *Clavis Mystica*, p. 215.

the baptizing of infants was in that age so general a practice, and the baptizing of adults so seldom happened (perhaps of a very few converted Jews), that no such provision would be made for the baptizing of grown persons; and in fact we find, that in most of the canons enjoining fonts to be constructed, the terms children, and little ones (*pueri, parvuli*) usually follow. Mr. Robinson, you say, (p. 208*) in his lately published "*History of Baptism*," suggests, that the bath near one end of the church of East Dereham in Norfolk was a baptistery. Judging, however, from a description of it given me by my friend Mr. Currey, of Dartford, who was formerly vicar of that parish, I am apt to conclude, that the bath was more likely to have been an holy well, possessed, by repute, of some miraculous sanative qualities. Mr. Pennant notices this religious custom among the Welch: 'If there be a *Fynnon Vair*, the well of our lady, or any other Saint, the water for baptism was always brought from thence; and, after the ceremony was over, old women were very fond of washing their eyes in the water of the font[*b*].'

The consecrating, according to the Romish ritual, with salt and oil a bath once a week, to render it baptismal water, is not a very probable supposition. The ancient canon of Elfric, (anno 657. 37) already cited, directed no oil to be put in the font, except a child be there baptized.

In a third passage (p. 223) Mr. Carte rather inclines to believe there might be two fonts, because by the usage of the church of Rome a multiplicity of altars was become so frequent. But are not the cases widely different? Each altar had its tutelar saint, real or imaginary; whereas the service performed at the font was always in the name of the blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

[*b*] *Tour in Wales*, vol. II. part II.

Besides,

Besides, as Mr. Carte confessed he did not know an instance of a plurality of fonts in one church, it is somewhat strange that he should immediately start a doubt upon the subject: and unless I am mistaken, there is not a canon, provincial or synodical, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the present times, which, if fairly interpreted, will countenance a surmise of there having been two baptismal fonts in the same church.

The eighty-first canon of the constitutions of 1603 runs thus:

‘According to a former constitution there should be a *font* of stone in every church.’—The former constitution, bishop Gibson says, was among the canons of 1571, which required churchwardens to take care that there should be *a sacred font* in which baptism was to be administered. And the articles and injunctions of cardinal Pole, bishop Ridley, and archbishop Cranmer, all specify *a single font* [c]. In the constitution of Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter, anno 1287, *baptistery* (*baptisterium*) is the word [d]. In that of the province of York, anno 1250, a ‘holy or consecrated *font*’ is the expression [e]; and *font* is likewise in that of Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, anno 1240 [f]. In the tenth canon of archbishop Edmund, where, as before observed, baptistery must signify the font, it is in the singular number; and by the fourth chapter of the constitutions of bishop William de Bleys, anno 1229, there was to be a baptismal font of stone, which according to the title was to be placed in the body of

[c] Wilkins, Concil. vol. IV. pp. 169—61—25

[d] Ibid. vol. II. p. 139. cap. xii. *Baptisterium lapideum bene seratum.*

[e] Ibid. vol. I. p. 698.—*Fons sacer cum serura.*

[f] Ibid. vol. I. p. 666. *Fons lapideus, in quo parvuli baptizentur.*

the church [b]. *Baptistery*, in the singular number, is also the term in the council of Scotland [i], and in the council of Durham, anno 1220 [k].

It is true that in the preceding articles of these two councils, as well as in the ninth article of the constitutions of Edmund, *fonts* (fontes) in the plural number occur, but it is only in the constitution of Edmund, as printed in Lyndwood's Collection, that the word *baptismales* is subjoined, which may therefore be deemed an erroneous reading. Nor can this be censured as too free a correction, when it is considered that in the substance of these articles in the three councils there is hardly any other variation; and that *baptismales* is not to be found in the constitutions of Edmund published by Wilkins from a copy in the Cottonian collection, collated with two more MSS. of authenticity [l]. Some farther directions being thought necessary concerning the baptismal font, they were given in the next canon of each council, and the term *baptisterium* adopted. And it is observable that in the prohibition against keeping beyond seven days in the baptistery the water that had been used in baptism, there is no other difference of expression than in the mode or tense of the Latin word *baptizor* [m].

(b) Wilkins, Concil, vol. I. p. 623. cap. 4. de ornatu corporis ecclesiæ—Fons baptismalis, lapideus, et decenter coopertus.

[i] Ib. v. I. p. 614. Fontes sub sera clausa custodiantur. Chrisma similiter, &c.

Baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali lapideum vel ligneum competens, &c.

[k] Ibid. vol. I. p. 576. Tit. Fontes sub sera claudantur

Fontes sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortilegium.

Chrisma similiter, et sacrum oleum sub clave custodiantur.

[l] Ex MS. Cott. Otho. A. XV. fol. 28. b. collat. cum MS. Lambeth, n. 17. et Eliensi, note, p. 235. vide art. ix. and x. p. 119. note c.

[m] Concil. Dunelm. Aqua vero in qua baptizatur puer ultra septem dies in baptisterio non fervetur.—Concil. Scoticanum—in qua baptizatus fuerit.

Concil. Edmund.—in qua baptizatus est.

The question may then be asked, what is the true meaning of *fontes* in these canons? For some time, I must own, I was rather of opinion that the plural number was used, because the injunctions might be supposed to extend to many churches; but this could not be the case in the formular which granted the privilege of having fonts [*n*] to the church of Montgomery. I am therefore inclined to imagine that by fonts may be here understood the vessel in which the baptismal water was consecrated, and also the vessel which contained the holy water (*aqua benedicta*). By a constitution of Peter de Quivil, bishop of Exeter, a vessel for holy water was to be provided for every church [*o*]; and in a constitution of a synod of Winton, held under William de Bleys, it is mentioned that this vessel should be of tin, or at least of lead [*p*], but that, as I apprehend, was a small vessel, which the priest, or his assistant, could carry, when he sprinkled the people on solemn days. The vessel to which I allude was of stone, similar to a font, but on a smaller scale, and relics of such a reservoir are still to be seen near the principal entrance into many of our churches, generally within a recess that has an angular arch [*q*]. It was as requisite to keep the holy as the baptis-

[*n*] It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, on the subject of the word *fontes*, used in the plural number, as mentioned by Mr. Denne, that the French, in speaking of the font, do, to this day, use the plural number. They say, for example, "Il a été tenu sur les fonts baptismaux."

I do not pretend to give any reason for this mode of speaking.

H. C. ENGLEFIELD.

[*o*] Wilkins, vol. II. p. 139.

[*p*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 623. Vas stanneum vel plumbeum ad minus ad aquam benedictam.

[*q*] Dr. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, p. 137, observes, "The next thing that will of course strike one's imagination is, their use of holy water; for, nobody

baptismal water under key, from a dread of forcereous practices ; and it was a secondary reason for carefully securing the holy water, that the profits accruing from the distribution of it in the [r] country were appropriated to the maintenance of poor scholars.

I am informed by a gentleman, very conversant in antient rituals, that the holy-water stoup, fixed near the doors of churches, is sometimes called *labrum*, and also *fons*. Dufresne's explanation of *Labrum* may be seen in the note [s] ; but I have not in Lyndwood observed that signification of the word *fons*.

In churches of what denomination were fonts to be placed, is another material article in the history of them, which the canon of archbishop Edmund, with the Gloss of Lyndwood, leads us to examine. The canon directs there should be a baptistery in every baptismal church ; and Lyndwood's explanation of a baptismal church is, whether cathedral or parochial, such as have people, i.e. the laity connected with them ; for, in a collegiate or conventual church, which has not any such people, there ought not to be a font.

Having then grounds for concluding that for many centuries there was not a font in either Canterbury, or St. Paul's cathedral ; and not tracing a parochial altar in either of those churches, as there appeared to have been in both Salisbury and Rochester cathedrals ; I ventured to offer a surmise, that in general there might not have been a font in any cathedral, which had not some of the laity so dependent upon it as to nobody ever goes in or out of a church, but is either sprinkled by the priest, who attends for that purpose on solemn days, or else serves himself with it from a vessel, usually of marble, placed just at the door, not unlike to one of our baptismal fonts."

[r] See Johnson's Eccles. Laws. Boniface's Constitut. MCELXI. c. 22. note l.

[s] *Labrum*. Isidor. xx. p. 6. vocatur eo quod in eo lavationem solitum est fieri infantum. Dufresne adds, " Vox Latinis non ignota, et ab Anastasio in S. Silvestro pp. usurpata ad indicandum fontis baptismalis concham, in qua continebatur aqua ad baptismum necessaria."

be under a necessity of resorting to it for baptism, and for the performance of their religious duties of the parochial kind.

To Mr. Gostling this seemed so extravagant a notion, that he confessed he knew not how to deal with the argument [t] ; and, by another learned and a very candid correspondent, I was charged with having cited Lyndwood for a doctrine not at all applicable to the point in dispute, and for starting an hypothesis, which the comment of that civilian would not in the least support [u].

In vindication, however, of my surmise, I shall take the liberty to observe, that my meaning was not clearly comprehended. To question the right of cathedrals to the denomination of baptismal, in the fullest extent of the word, was far from my thoughts. It was the exercise of the right that I had in contemplation ; or, rather, the right of any of the laity to be baptized within a cathedral. If there were any lay persons who could maintain this claim, a font must necessarily have been provided for the purpose ; but otherwise to have subjected a prior and his convent to the charge of constructing a font would, with reason, have been complained of as a grievance. Had the canon in question been deemed to affect Canterbury cathedral, the not obeying it was in the monks an inexcusable neglect ; and a strange remissness was it likewise in archbishop Edmund, and his successors, not to enforce the injunction. And yet Somner assures us that he could not discover there being any fixed font from 1236 to 1636. With regard to the church erected by Cuthbert for baptisms and other purposes, Lanfranc converted it into an infirmary chapel ; and, by the rules of the Benedictine order,

[t] Walk, p. 94.

[u] Gent. Mag. vol. XLV. p. 116.

the infirmary was situated in the most retired district of the convent [x].

Mr. Gostling insinuates that I ought to have shewn when cathedrals parted with this honour ; but my opinion is, that the governing members of these churches, regular and secular, would never, unless by compulsion, formally renounce any privilege to which they were entitled ; and, notwithstanding a very long discontinuance of baptism, they might, by our ecclesiastical laws and usages, have resumed the celebration of this sacrament whenever they had pleased, and would assuredly have done so, had they seen any advantage likely to arise from it ; but, owing to a disuse of only a single form, often previously necessary to the performance of another rite, it has happened to one cathedral, perhaps to more than one, that the church, by an act of the legislature, has been debarred the exercise of it in future. All cathedrals were antiently matrimonial as well as baptismal churches ; but by the statute of the 26 Geo. II. cap. 37, no marriage, either by banns, or by the licence of the ordinary, can be solemnized in any other place than a church or public chapel, where banns had been usually published before the passing of that act. And, banns not having been within memory published in Rochester cathedral, no marriage can now be there solemnized, unless by special licence from the archbishop of Canterbury, without subjecting the officiating minister to the risque of a sentence of transportation for fourteen years.

Can we, on my principle, account for the fonts in the cathedrals of Winchester and Lincoln, is a doubt suggested by

[x] Wilkins, Concil. vol. II. p. 247, *Custumale Rossense*, p. 30. *Serviens in domo infirmorum maxime custodiet hostium ab ingressu laicorum, ne aliquis absque licentia magistri sui introeet.*

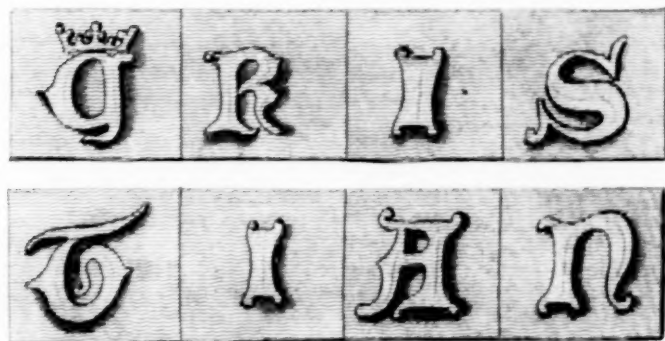
you [y], which I will endeavour to obviate by proposing this question. Might there not have been parochial altars in these cathedrals, as we have evidence there were in those of Rochester and Salisbury? And when churches were built, the better to accommodate the inhabitants of districts who had parochial altars in cathedrals, they might not be allowed to take with them the fonts they had used; or it might be to them a matter of indifference whether they did or not. Supposing the embellishments of the curious font at Winchester to be descriptive, as they probably are, of some remarkable occurrence in the history of that cathedral, it is not difficult to assign a reason for the monks keeping that, to them, inestimable reliet of antiquity: and, if the original font in the nave of Rochester cathedral was a vessel of a structure as ordinary as that which is there at present, I can easily believe that the parishioners of St. Nicholas were not solicitous to obtain a removal of it; and we accordingly find in the composition made between the prior and the convent of St. Andrew, and the inhabitants of the city of Rochester, that the parishioners were permitted to erect in their new church or chapel of St. Nicholas, a baptistery, in which any of the parishioners might be baptized [z]. A sketch of the font now in that church may be seen in Plate XI.

The phrase in the eighty-second canon established in 1603, that there should be a font in every church or chapel where *baptism had been usually administered* [a], would, I conceive, be as pertinent a gloss on the word *baptismali* in the canon of archbishop Edmund, as that of Lyndwood, *which has a*

[y] *Archæol.* vol. X. p. 202.

[z] *Registrum Rossense*, p. 564. Item quod bene liceat dictis parochianis baptismum in dicta ecclesia sive capella erigere et quoscunque parochianos ejusdem in ea baptizari facere.

[a] *Ubi baptismus administrari consuevit*, which bishop Gibson has inadvertently rendered, where baptism is to be administered.



Font in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas Rochester

people. But, be this as it may, there is another part of Lyndwood's Comment of doubtful interpretation; it not being clear whether he meant to insinuate that churches collegiate and conventual, as not having a people, ought not to have fonts in them [b]. But, if such were his idea, he was certainly mistaken, there having been several churches that were both collegiate and parochial, and some conventual churches, even of those appertaining to nunneries, in which there were parochial altars, and where fonts were of course necessary.

Of collegiate churches of this class I will mention five in Kent; Bredgar, Cobham, Maidstone, Ulcombe, and Wingham. And the parishioners of St. Leonard, Fosterlane, in London, were wont to resort to the altar of St. Leonard, in the collegiate church of the dean and chapter of St. Mary Le Grand, till they had a chapel erected for them in the court belonging to that church [c]. As to churches conventual, I have not any authority for suggesting that there ever was a parochial altar in the abbey church of St. Albans, or a font till after the suppression it became parochial, when Sir Richard Lee presented to it the font made of brass, brought from Edinburgh, in which the children of the kings of Scotland had been baptized [d]. The altar, you have (p. 204) alluded to, might be what was commonly called the altar of the rood, or of the crucifix; and by Mr. Hutchinson, in his History and Antiquities of Durham [e], the altar of Jesus; and perhaps, on a comparison, some resemblance

[b] The whole of Lyndwood's Gloss is as follows: *Ecclesia baptismali*, five cathedrali, five parochiali, tali, viz. quæ habet populum; nam in ecclesia collegiata vel conventuali quæ non habet populum non debet esse baptisterium.

[c] Newcourt, Repertor. vol. I. p. 392.

[d] Willis, Mitred Abbeyes, vol. I. p. 15.

[e] Vol. I. p. 253.

might be found between the handsome screen of niches in St. Alban's church, and the fine wainscot like to a porch, with which each end of the altar in Durham cathedral was closed [*f*]. There were, however, indisputably, a parochial altar and font in the conventual church of Sherborne; and it is likewise evident that there were parochial altars in the churches of the priories of St. Botolph, in Colchester [*g*], and of Christ church within Aldgate, the latter for the use of the inhabitants of St. Catharine Cree church [*h*]. The inhabitants of Catesby in Northamptonshire, whilst that nunnery remained, must, as I collect from Bridges [*i*], have had a parochial altar in that conventual church; and the parish church of St. Helens, Bishopsgate, was within the church of the contiguous nunnery [*k*].

From Mr. Latham's representation of the font standing in the nave of the abbey church of Romsey in Hants, I at first imagined it might have been fixed there for the use of the parishioners previous to the dissolution of the nunnery; but I have now my doubts, because there is a tradition relative to a detached parish church in former days, though the site of it is unknown, and it being certain that the buildings appertaining to the nunnery were purchased by the corporation after its dissolution. By favour of Mr. Latham and his son, who has lately engaged in a brewery, the premises of which cover a part of the ground that was within the convent precinct, I have it in my power to communicate an accurate drawing of the font [*l*], which I am satisfied will be acceptable to the Society.

[*f*] An objection to this is, that the stone screen, with its altar, at St. Alban's, is considerably west both of the high altar and the centre tower. R. G.

[*g*] Newcourt, Rep. vol. II. p. 166.

[*h*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 380.

[*i*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 35.

[*k*] Newcourt, vol. I. p. 364.

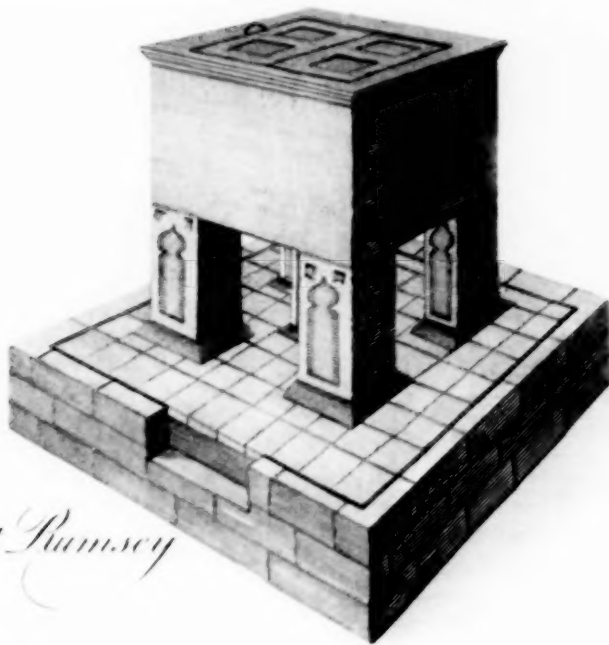
[*l*] Plate XII.

Font at Offham



Pl XII p. 236

Font at Ramsey



It is exhibited as constructed upon an elevated platform of stone, paved with tiles, of the height of above fifteen inches. The depth of the font is three feet six inches, the width two feet ten inches, and consequently it is large enough to have admitted of the total immersion of an infant. There is at the bottom a perforation for drawing off the water, and Mr. Latham thinks the cover may not be of antient date. There appears, as Mr. John Latham writes, to be a similitude in the style of the arches on the font, and in that of some arches on the walls of the church : but this might have happened, had the font been originally erected in the demolished parish church, and removed into the nave of the abbey after it became parochial. Children are at present baptized in the vestry, in consequence of the font being in a very cold and damp situation.

William Upton, abbot of Evesham, who died August 11, 1483, is noticed by Dr. Nash [*m*] to have been buried in his church below the baptistery and altar (*infra baptisterium et altare*). That the font here mentioned was used by the inhabitants of the town before the building of two parish churches within the abbey precincts [*n*], is a supposition most probable.

Mr. Latham judged the font in Offam church to have been of one stone, but he says it might have been cased with plaster to give it that appearance. The cover was of wood painted. He was but just in time to preserve a view of it ; for, since he was at Offam, the font fell, and was broken to pieces by the accident.

The very antient font found by Mr. Grose at New Minster, in Northumberland [*o*], and supposed to have belonged

[*m*] Collections for Worcestershire, vol. I. p. 400.

[*n*] Island, Itin. vol. IV. part II. fol. 168 b.

[*o*] Gent. Mag. vol. XLV. p. 13.

to that Cistercian abbey, as likewise the grant of a bishop of Coventry to the abbey of Haghmon, in Shropshire, to baptize as well Jews as infants [p], would, I imagine, confirm rather than weaken my general positions, were we better acquainted with the histories of those religious houses. Of the Benedictine monks the Cistercians were the most rigid, and though the Austin canons were under a far less severe rule of discipline, being allowed to converse much in the world, yet women were not on any account permitted to pass beyond the hall appropriated to strangers, whatever might be their age, condition, or affinity to the canons [q]: nor indeed were the wives and children of domestics suffered to reside within any conventual enclosure. The families, therefore, of the servants of Haghmon abbey lived probably in a hamlet in its vicinage, which, from its being at some distance from the parish church, might occasion the grant of this indulgence. It is styled a privilege, and notwithstanding the ecclesiastical sacraments and parochial offices were to be administered to them by one of the canons, it is observed that he was a Sacristan, different from the Sacristan of the abbey.

[p] *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 208. The fourth canon of a council held in France about the year 615, prohibited baptizing in monasteries. Dupin, vol. VI. *Eccles. Hist.* p. 55.

[q] Wilkins, *Concil.* vol. III. p. 685. *Ordinationes et statuta per Thomam Wolsey, &c. per singula monasteria canonicorum regularium Sti. Augustini observanda.* A. 1519.

Cap. V. De feminis infra monasterium non admittendis.

Item, statuimus, quod nulli feminæ cujuscunque ætatis, propinquitatis aut conditionis extiterint, permittatur accessus in dormitorium, infirmariam, claustrum, aut canonicorum cellas seu cameras, vel alium locum privatum quemcunque, sed duntaxat ad loca pro hospitibus deputata, &c.

A reason

A reason why the ruling members of the cathedrals were not solicitous to have baptism celebrated in their churches was, that they could not turn it to their advantage ; but as a profit accrued from the chrism, which was then used in baptism, the ministers of all churches and chapels which were baptismal, were enjoined to fetch it annually, and to pay the accustomed fee. It was, however, a subject of complaint, that many of the clergy were so æconomical, that they would make the holy oil last for two or three years, notwithstanding a positive command, that what remained was to be burnt at the end of every year [r].

In assigning this motive for the disuse of baptism in cathedrals, I perceive I had not advanced a novel opinion. For when Mr. Carte did not concur in Mr. Gale's notion, that the font in Winchester cathedral was intended for that monastery, it was ' because the monks did not seem to Mr. Carte to be interested in baptism in any sort ; but, in burials to which the font had no relation.'

Fuller likewise [s] tells us that " Pierce Plowman (in his Passus 11.) maketh a witty wonder, why friers should covet rather to confesse and bury than to christen children; intimating it proceeded from covetousnesse, there being gain to be gotten by the one, none by the other. " And this," adds the Historian, in his quaint style, " was the age wherein convents got their best living by the dying ; which made them (contrary to all other people) most to worship the sunne setting."

When the inhabitants of a district had their parochial altar in a cathedral, all divine offices were to be performed by the incumbent of the parish, and not by any officer belonging to

[r] Wilkins, Concil. vol. II p. 48 Statut. A. Peckham.

[s] Fuller's History of the Holy War, Book II. c. 5.

the cathedral ; and it may likewise be presumed that the parishioners were always subject to the charge of providing the font, as well as other sacred utensils and necessary vestments.. This I conclude from a statute of Salisbury cathedral (anno 1259), which declares it to be the office of the treasurer, at the expence of the cathedral, to repair the ornaments, and to furnish bread, wine, water, and candles, for the several altars in the church, the parochial altar excepted [t].

The parishioners of St. Faith in London had their place of worship in the undercroft of St. Paul's cathedral, in which, and not in the nave, the baptismal font would be fixed ; nor could a font be wanted for the families of the members of the cathedral, very great precaution being taken to prevent the residence of women in its precincts. The minor canons were prohibited letting their houses or any apartments in them, unless to those of the church who wore a clerical habit ; women were not to enter the doors of the canons' houses ; and if any ground of suspicion was given by their supping or dining with the canons, the canons were to submit to an admonition [u]. The being married, it should seem, was not a recommendation to an inferior office, and it certainly disqualified a man to be a vergier. In the statute concerning vergiers, there are expressions more suitable to a comedy or a farce than to an ordinance composed by venerable divines, who held matrimony to be a Christian sacrament. It declares an uxorious life to be a state busy and turbulent, in which the

[t] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 742, A. 1259. Constit. et Statut. Eccles. Salisbur.

Theſaurarii officium est, ornamenta etiam ecclesiæ suis expensis reficere, panem, vinum, aquam, et candelas singulis altaribus ecclesiæ, excepto parochiali, administrare.

[u] Dugdale's History of St. Paul's. Appendix, p. 252. 261.

husband,

husband, as he ought, should study to please his wife as his mistress. And as their vergers, distracted by matrimonial anxieties, might neglect their duty in the church, or, compelled by necessity (for no man can serve well two masters), desert their office, it was concluded and declared by the dean, the canons assenting, that bachelors only should be vergers; and that if a married man should be presented to the dean by the treasurer, on mention of the name of the wife, he should be immediately rejected [w].

As the monks of Christ church, Canterbury, were Benedictines, it is needless to shew that a greater indulgence in this respect would not be allowed to them; and that consequently a font could not be wanted for the residents in their precinct. It cannot therefore be matter of surprize that Mr. Somner was not able to trace the vestige of a font whilst the priory subsisted; nor, as I apprehend, will it be difficult to suggest a very probable reason for there not being any font constructed during the reign of Elizabeth; and it will equally apply to Peterborough cathedral, in which, according to Mr. Carte, there was a delay in providing one. This reason may be deduced from the forcible but impolitic and unjust injunction of her majesty, for what she termed the better go-

[w] Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 243. De virgiferis. Præterea quia res uxoria est sæpenumero res negotiosa et turbulenta, atque mariti uxori, ut dominæ suæ oporteat studeant, virgiferi nostri matrimoniali sollicitudine distracti in ecclesia officium suum negligent, aut necessitate coacti (quia duobus dominis nemo bene servire posset) deferant; idcirco statutum est a domino decano, capitulo consentiente, et conclusum, ut deinceps in ecclesia S. Pauli non sint ullo modo virgiferi, nisi tales qui sine uxoribus cælibes vitam ducant, et continentiam teneant; quod si talis a Thesaurario præsentetur decano qui uxorem habet, audito uxoris nomine, statim repellatur.

vernment of cathedrals. It was dated August 9, 1561, and the following extract will warrant my observation.

‘ The queen understanding of late, that within the houses hereof, as well the chief governours, as the prebendaries, students and members thereof being married, do keep particular households, with their wives, children, and nurses, whereof no small offence groweth—has thought meete to provide remedie therein, lest by sufferance thereof, the rest of the colleges, especially such as be replenished with young students, as the very rooms and buildings be not answerable for such families of women and young children—therefore expressly willeth and commandeth, that no manner of person being either the head or member of any college or cathedral church within the realm, shall from the time of the notification hereof, be permitted to have within the precinct of the said college his wife or other woman, to abide and dwell in the same, or to frequent or haunt any lodging within the same college, upon pain, that whosoever shall do to the contrary, shall forfeit all ecclesiastical promotions in any cathedral or collegiate church within this realm [x].’

Archbishop Parker was not an unlikely person to have given a suitable font to his cathedral, had he judged it expedient. But if, when her majesty honoured the cathedral with her presence, she had seen such a font, and on enquiring what occasion there could be for it in that church, had been answered it was for baptizing the sons and daughters of the dean and prebendaries, and their wives (an appellation she would not allow to be due to Mrs. Parker), it is probable she might again have uttered such bitter expressions in disparagement of matrimony, as his Grace would with horror have heard and bewailed coming from her mild nature.

[x] Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 107.

Of the fixed font presented by bishop Warner to Canterbury cathedral, a rare piece of novelty, as Somner terms it, he gives no other account, than that it was such a one, as whether it were more curious or costly, he was not able, if worthy, to judge; but both ways (he was sure) so excellent, that the author cannot but be famous for it whilst the church continues graced with it. There is, however, an engraving of it in the quarto edition of his *Antiquities*; and Mr. Gostling's *Walk* is also decorated with an engraving, but in both plates the South side of the font is exhibited. In *Cantuaria Sacra*, as Mr. Carte has remarked, there is not any cut, nor any mention of its form and ornaments.

To supply the defect, I have procured from a friend at Canterbury, the under-written description, which, I am persuaded, is correct.

On the top of the font is the figure of our Saviour with a child in his arms, and two children clinging round his feet; beneath are the words "Suffer little children to come unto me," &c.

Under our Saviour, in an octagon, are four figures; St. John, St. James minor, St. Bartholomew, St. Peter. Between these figures are shields of arms—the king's, the archbishop's, those of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, and of the see of Rochester; the last empaling the paternal coat of bishop Warner. Beneath the four figures, "Go ye teach all nations," &c.; and below, eight figures; Matthias, Thomas, Andrew, Simon, Philip, Matthew, James major, Judas, his brother.

In niches of a pedestal which supports the font are the four evangelists with their accustomed symbols. There are the heads of angels, with wings gilt round the font, and under the cover the figure of the dove.

We

We are informed by Mr. Battely [y] that this fair ornament of the church had not been erected many years before the pious and honourable benefactor, and Mr. Somner also saw it defaced and *pulled down* by sacrilegious hands in the time of the great rebellion. But that as soon as the church and state were delivered from those dismal confusions, anno 1660, the same generous and worthy bishop Warner caused *a new font, more costly and beautiful than the former*, to be set up at his own charges. And in bishop Kennet's Life of Somner, prefixed to his Treatise on Gavelkind, is this passage, at p. 111. "When the beautiful font in the nave of Canterbury cathedral (built by the Right Rev. John Warner, bishop of Rochester, late prebendary of Canterbury, and consecrated by John lord bishop of Oxon. 1636) was *pulled down, and the materials carried away by the rabble*, he enquired with great diligence for all the scattered pieces, bought them up at his own charge, kept them safe till the king's return, and then delivered them to that worthy bishop, who *re-edified his font and made it a greater beauty of holiness*; giving to Mr. Somner the just honour to have a daughter of his own first baptized in it."

But, notwithstanding these averments of Bishop Warner's having, after the year 1660, set up a new font more costly and beautiful in the place of the font he had presented to the cathedral in 1636, I am somewhat inclined to believe that there was a very small disparity in the embellishments of what are here styled two fonts; and that in fact it was rather a repair than a renewal of the original font[z]. This notion is
founded

[y] Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 100. Addition signed N. B.

[z] On examining the Prelates' will, I noticed the underwritten clause concerning this donation.

"Whereas I formerly gave, for the making and remaking of a font in the cathedral church of Christ, in Canterbury, five hundred pounds, I now further give
unto

founded on the description of the font of 1636 by a contemporary writer, and on his report of the mischief (though he would have thought *good deed* a more proper expression) done to this elegant piece of sculpture. Richard Culmer's 'Dean and Chapter Newes from Canterbury' is my authority; and, in page 3 of his son William's edition of that malignant and scurrilous book, is this passage.

"In that cathedrall there hath been lately erected a superstitious font with three ascents to it, paled about with high guild and painted iron bars, having under the cover of it a carved image of the Holy Ghost in the forme of a dove[a], and round about are placed carved images of the twelve apostles, and foure evangelists, and of angels, and over it a carved image of Christ." And to the description of the present font with which my friend favoured me, it ought to have been added, that there are three steps of ascent to it, as delineated in the plates in Somner's Antiquities, and Mr. Gostling's Walk; and, while the font stood in the nave of the cathedral, it was encompassed with iron rails, which, to the best of my recollection were partly gilt.

The injury which the font sustained is thus triumphantly displayed by the same Gothic Reformer at p. 17.

"On their Candlemas day at night, 1641, those consecrated images about their new cathedral font were all demolished and taken away they knew not how or by whom, but a few days after some of those idols were found in that canon to the same body five hundred pounds to be bestowed in books for the late erected library." Would five hundred pounds have been adequate to the expence of constructing two fonts so elegant and costly? Bishop Warner's bequest to the library is not mentioned in "Cantuaria Sacra."

[a] In the specimen of the sacrilegious outrages committed in the parish churches of Cambridge, anno Domini 1643, under the church of St. Giles is this note—"We brake a dove from the high loft of the font, and a *holy water font* at the porch door."

thedrall in a pulpit [6] ; and when the king was last there, in his journey with the queen to Dover, the prelates (meaning the dean and prebendaries) carried him to the font, and shewed him the lamentable condition and ruin of their new consecrated font, and where those images had stood about it. And indeed they could better endure the late felling of about three hundred episcopal and cathedrall oakes in the yeare for their own gaine than they could endure the pulling down of those eighteen idols of wood and stone."

From the expressions used by this outrageous iconoclast, it should seem that the figures only were pulled down, because deemed superstitious idols ; and that the other parts of the font might be but little, if at all defaced. Hence we may farther collect how soon Mr. Somner might obtain information where several of the figures were concealed, of which he was certainly so fortunate as to get possession, nor can it therefore be thought a very improbable surmise, that the replacing of these figures, and the repairing of the other decorations of the font might be the chief of the work done subsequent to the year 1660. The single small alteration in the ornaments was, as I apprehend, the emblazoning of the arms of the see of Rochester with the family coat of Warner, the donor not being bishop of that diocese when he presented the font.

According to Dr. Kennett, a *daughter* of Mr. Somner, in just honour to her parent, was by bishop Warner's permission

[6] Most probably the pulpit in the sermon-house, because he sarcastically adds, "where a sermon had not been preached near twenty years before," being however studious to conceal from his readers, that during those years sermons had been regularly preached in the choir. For reasons mentioned by Mr. Gostling (Walk, p. 198.), it was judged expedient that the practice should be discontinued of the congregation's moving after prayers from the choir to the sermon-house, which before the Reformation had been the chapter-house of the prior and the convent.

first baptized in the font ; and under this notion, as supposing it to be well founded, Mr. Gostling properly observed, that the prelate did not long delay his second donation, it appearing by the church register, that Barbara, the daughter of Mr. William Somner, was baptized September 11, 1660. There is, however, in the register, another entry of a later date, which expressly mentions, that " Sophia, daughter of Dr. John Aucher, a prebendary of this church, and Susanna his wife, was the first that was baptized in the new font the 8th day of October 1663." And the entry immediately preceding notices, that " on August 16, 1663, Francis, *son* of William Somner, auditor of this church, and Barbara his wife, was baptized."

How then are we to account for the suggestion of bishop Kennett, which we may fairly conclude to have been founded on a traditionary anecdote from which such an error might easily arise ? Now it is advanced by him that a *daughter* of Mr. Somner was first baptized in the font, and the register proves that his *daughter* Barbara was baptized in September 1660. And my inference is, that she might be the child first baptized in or at the font after the re-establishment of the dean and chapter in consequence of the king's restoration. Supposing this to be a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, it will corroborate my conjecture, that though the font was in lamentable condition and ruin by the pulling down of the images, and perhaps from other abuses, the basin might be yet remaining, and in a condition to be applied to its original purpose.

It has not escaped my attention, that, in the entry of the baptism of Dr. Aucher's daughter, it is called a new font. But many instances might be cited from the histories of sacred structures, in which the epithet *new* is used to denote only a

complete repair, with a few alterations and additional embellishments [c]. And, in order to lessen if not fully obviate the objection, it cannot be impertinent to remark, that, had it been an entirely new font, a sacred appropriation of it would have been judged requisite. The font of 1636 was certainly consecrated; of a consecration in 1663 there is no evidence.

This font no longer graces the nave of Canterbury cathedral; for, on new paving the nave, it was imagined to be, if not a cumbrous ornament, at least not a desirable object in its pristine situation, and was therefore, by order of chapter, placed in the rotunda, respecting which the opinions of Mr. Gostling and myself did not coincide. As I am informed, the edifice is as well adapted for the reception of the font as if it had been designedly erected for it. And doubtless a Baptistry is now as proper a denomination as in the days of the Benedictines was—a Lavatory.

Conveniunt rebus nomina sæpe suis.

Within this dome an usage not the same,
Hath for it lately wrought a change of name.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful

Wilmington,
Dec. 3, 1792.

and obliged servant,

S. D E N N E.

[c] See Memorials of Rochester Cathedral, published with Custumale Rosense, p. 169.

Additions to Mr. Denne's Observations on Fonts.

Read March 7, 1793.

SINCE I transmitted my miscellaneous observations on fonts, I have been favoured with a letter from Mr. Clarke, in which there are some passages so pertinent to the subject, as to make it advisable for me to communicate them to the Society. He is the gentleman very conversant in ancient rituals, whom I mentioned as having acquainted me that the same vase for Holy water was sometimes called *Fons*; and as before he had apprized me of this circumstance, I could only by implication collect from constitutions provincial and synodical that this was one meaning of that word, I desired him to let me know where he had met with this use of it. Having likewise noticed in a paper written by him, and inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LVII. p. 661, that fonts were to be surrounded with a lattice; I expressed a wish to learn his authority, no such direction occurring in the constitution of archbishop Edmund, which he had just before cited. His satisfactory answers to both my questions are as follow:

“ It was no small while before I could recollect my authority for asserting the font should be surrounded with a lattice. However, upon recurring to the original of the paper, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LVII. which was only an abridgement to suit the convenience of Mr. Urban, I was referred to the Roman ritual. ‘ Baptisterium sit
 ‘ decente

‘decente loco et forma, materiaque solida, et quæ aquam
 ‘bene contineat, decenter ornatum, et *cancellis circumseptum*,
 ‘fera et clave munitum atque obsecritum, ut pulvis vel aliæ
 ‘fordes intro non penetrent, in eoque ubi commodè fieri po-
 ‘test depingatur imago Sancti Johannis Christum bapti-
 ‘zantis [a].’

“In the Magazine I also hinted that immersion is one
 cause of the largeness of fonts; another I had in view, and
 which I will present from the same ritual—‘Aqua verò so-
 ‘lemnis baptismi sit eo anno benedicta in sabbato Paschatis,
 ‘vel sabbato Pentecostes, *quæ in fonte munda nitida, et pura dili-*
 ‘*genter conservetur*, et hæc quando nova benedicenda est in
 ‘ecclesia vel potius baptisterii sacrarium effundatur.’ (Tit.
 de materia Baptismi.)

‘Si vero corrupta fuerit, aut effluxerit, aut quovis modo
 ‘defecerit, parochus in fontem bene mundatum ac nitidum
 ‘recentem aquam infundat, eamque benedicat,’ &c. (Ibid).

“This is very different from the time of archbishop Ed-
 mund’s constitutions, and I was induced to think, that in
 order to contain a quantity of water for the baptisms occur-
 ring between Whitfontide and the following Easter, was one
 cause of the vast capacity in fonts. Whether this will bear, I
 leave to your determination; and I passed it by, as thinking
 Edmund’s authority of the greater value in this country in
 particular, and because I judged that the rubrics of the Mis-
 sals, &c. published by authority of the council of Trent,
 might lead into anachronisms, a reformation and alteration of
 ceremonials having been made by that council.

‘The Benitier, a Stoup, having succeeded the fountains
 placed antiently at the doors of the churches, as mentioned

[a] Rituale Romanum Antverpiæ ex officina Plantiniana, 1659. De Sacramento
 Baptismi. Titulo de tempore et loco administrandi baptismum.

by Eusebius, Paulinus, &c. came, when afterwards fixed, also to be known by that name. In a note to my account sent you concerning stone seats, &c. you will find an example from the cathedral at Rouen, quoted from Moleon.

“ You judged perfectly right in supposing I got the appellation *font* for the Holy water basin from an ancient ritual. It was furnished by the Pontifical, where among other directions for the dedication of a church it is ordered. ‘ Fontes ecclesiæ in quibus conservatur aqua benedicta vacui sint et bene mundi.’ (Pont. Rom. Parisiis, 1683, 359).

“ Grancola, in his ‘ Ancien Sacramentaire de l’Eglise,’ has written above 105 pages of the ceremonies of baptism, and is in that part relative to baptisteries particular and curious.

“ Ciampini, in his ‘ Vetera Monumenta,’ has a chapter with this title, ‘ Expositio duorum sarcophagorum sacrum baptismatis ritum indicantium, quorum occasione veterum Baptismalium Fontium, præsertim Lateranensis et Pisarum ostenditur forma.’ Ciampini has not any figure corresponding in shape with the font at Rotherfield Grays. Those he terms sarcophagi are in the form of flat inverted bells. He enters tediously into the explanation of a male and female figure in one of them; and the modes and causes of baptism by immersion and aspersión. The font at Rotherfield is certainly Gothic from the pillars at its corners, though in other respects it corresponds but little with that mode of architecture.

“ In the eleventh tome of De Vert is a plate of a baptism in a large vessel or tub (*cuve*), copied from a drawing in a very ancient MS. of St. Gregory Nazienzen on baptism in the king’s library. The minister of baptism is an apostolic figure, who is in the act of pronouncing the form. The godfather, *parrain*, stands ready with a cloth or vestment, with a countenance of much devotion to receive the catechumen from

from the baptistery. The plate is also accompanied with some explanations by this learned ritualist; 'vir ad eruendam et
'asserendam simplicem ac nudam rituum ecclesiasticorum
'veritatem natus.'

'P. S. *Labrum* [*b*], *Amula*, *Situla*, *Aquimanile*, or *Aquamale*, and *Malluvium*, are so many names of the stoup for Holy water, mentioned in the xxi chapter of Durant's First Book of the Rites of the Church."

CHARLES CLARKE.

In *Custumale Rossense*, p. 30. cap. de famulis ecclesiæ, quid facere debeant, there is a passage in which *fontes* must signify the vases for Holy water.

'Cum processio sit ad crucem in nave ecclesiæ ponent ante crucifixum cereum accensum, et in nocte ad *fontes* candelam.

Though Dugdale in his history has not taken any notice of a font, it appears from a deed cited in Newcourt's Repertorium (vol. II. p. 212.) that there had been a font in St. Paul's cathedral. The instrument alluded to is in the account of Dengy parish, in Essex, in which was a portion of tithes called Bacon's Portion; and, on a controversy between the rector and the possessor of those tithes, bishop Bonner ordained by composition, anno 1541, that the rector should pay to the portionary and his successors a yearly pension of four pounds and eight shillings, half of it on the 16th day after the feast of St. Mark, and the other half part at the same interval after Michaelmas; and that the payment should be made between one and four o'clock on *the font stone*, in the nave of the cathedral church of St. Paul. Supposing this font stone not to mean the stone upon which a font might be formerly placed, but the font itself, it will however come within the scope and purport of my surmise, because the inhabitants

[*b*] See before, p. 131, note 1.

of St. Faith's parish had their parochial altar in the cathedral ; and after its being placed in the undercroft the same indulgence might not be allowed to them as was granted to the parishioners of St. Nicholas, Rochester, to construct a new font ; or, if they were favoured with this privilege, the old font might remain in the nave of St. Paul's, and answer no other use than what is stipulated in the deed. When bishop Bonner decreed this gross misapplication of a consecrated monument, he could hardly have had in his thoughts the incident of our Saviour's overthrowing in the temple the tables of the money-changers. S. D.

Jan. 24, 1793.



XVIII. *Memoir on British Naval Architecture.*
By Ralph Willett, Esq. F. A. & R. SS.

Read Feb. 14, 1793.

AN Englishman can hardly be supposed to want curiosity in whatever relates to naval architecture. To the present state of it in his own country he owes all its present importance. In itself, it displays the highest exertions of human skill and science ; in its consequences, the most beneficial advantages to every other Society as well as his own, and unites mankind in one general participation of the benefits peculiar to every distant part of the world. It is therefore hoped that the present attempt, imperfect as it is, will be received with indulgence ; and perhaps excite some abler pen, guided by more ample materials, to do justice to the subject.

Besides what I have been able to collect from our printed histories, I was so fortunate as to purchase five large volumes of manuscript accounts from the library of the earl of Oxford. They had been collected with much industry by Mr. Fortescue, who was a commissioner of the navy during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second ; and they were presented by Mr. Francis Fortescue, his son, to Lawrence Hyde, earl of Rochester, and President of the Council in that of William the Third. Three of the volumes appear to have been in the possession of Mr. Conduit, Sir Isaac Newton's nephew. All the five came into the hands of that great collector lord

Oxford,

Oxford, and at his death into Mr. Osborne's, who bought his library. From Mr. Osborne I bought them. I have also had some assistance from Mr. Hayward's own MS. book. Mr. Hayward was master-builder of Woolwich yard for a great many years, and died only about the year 1744, at the great age of eighty-seven years.

As I have derived considerable help from these MSS. I have thought it proper to mention this account of them, and how they came into my possession.

The accounts of our navy are but few, until the reign of Henry the Eighth; but as the office of Admiral was established so early as the reign of Edward the First, and perhaps of John; and we find Fitz Allan appointed Admiral of England by Richard the Second; and Spelman hath given us a list of admirals from Henry the Third; we may infer that our princes had some ships of their own, besides the occasional ones furnished by the Cinque Ports, &c. The first instance I know of, and that a curious one, as it mentions cannon employed on-board a ship, occurs in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. VIII. p. 447. It is an order to Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, to deliver to Mr. Loveney, treasurer of queen Philippa, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, who was then sent by her uncle Henry the Fourth to her husband, in the ship called the Queen's Hall, the following military stores: 11 guns, 40 *libras pulveris* pro gunnes, 40 *petras* pro gunnes, 40 tampons, 4 touches, 1 mallet, 2 fire-pans, 40 pavys, 24 bows, 40 sheaves of arrows, pro stuffura ejusdem navis, ordinata pro aula ejusdem reginæ.

Henry the Fifth, at his first invasion of France, appears to have had two large and beautiful ships of his own, with pur-

ple sails, the one called the King's Chamber, the other his Hall.

Edward the Fourth had several ships of his own, which he employed sometimes in war, and often for trade, in which he dealt largely. It appears from Canning's monument in Redclift church at Bristol, that he, at one time, furnished this prince with 2470 tons of shipping to purchase his peace, among which were the Mary and John of 900 tons, and the Mary Radcliffe of 500 tons, being two of the largest ships belonging to any Englishman in that early period that I know of, though many of that size, and larger, are to be found amongst the Genoese and Venetians at that time.

In 1481 he issued the following order: 'Rex dilecto sibi Richardo Symondes, magistro *navis nostræ vocatæ Le Grace de Dieu*, salutem.

"Cum nos quandam armatam potentiam ad proficiscendum supra mare in resistantiam illius infidelis et antiqui inimici nostri regis *Scotorum* ordinavimus, assignavimus te ad tot marinarios quot pro gubernatione et conductione navis predictæ necessarii fuerint et opportuni, *ubicunque* inveniri poterunt, tam infra libertates quam extra, arestandum et capiendum, et eos in nave prædicta, nobis ad vadia nostra deservituros, ponendum et poni faciendum.

"Consimiles literæ regis patentes diriguntur personis subscriptis sub eadem data, viz. Roberto Michelson magistro navis regis vocatæ Le Henry, Richardo Hubbard magistro navis regis vocatæ Le Anthony; Johanni Stevens magistro navis regis vocatæ le Great Portingale; Joanni Hamond magistro navis regis le Spagnard; Waltero Cokkee magistro navis regis vocatæ le Henry Ashe; and to five other commanders, who had not ships belonging to the king, but seem to have been hired". Rymer, vol. XII. p. 139. N. B. We find that pressing

pressing of *seamen* for the king's service was practised at this time, perhaps even earlier.

It appears that our ships were now built larger ; for in the earlier stages of them I am apt to suspect they were much smaller, and even consisted, for the most part, of single-decked vessels, with one mast only. In the famous Armada of Edward the Third, though it consisted of 1100 vessels, the men on-board them were only 11,166 ; very little more than ten men per vessel ; and though, in the proportion of those furnished by London, we find them a little bigger, they do not exceed twenty-six men per vessel even in that class.

It is therefore to the reign of Henry the Eighth that we must look for the establishment of a regular navy. Before his reign, ships were hired occasionally from the Venetians, the Genoese, the Hanse towns, and other trading people. These, with the others, supplied by the Cinque Ports, formed the strength of our English fleets. As soon as the service was performed for which they were hired, they were dismissed.

Henry, aware of the inconveniency of suddenly collecting such a sea force as his frequent wars on the continent required, resolved to form such a permanent strength at sea, as his political views, and the growing state of trade, at that time so much increased by the discoveries of the East and West-Indies, and the enlarged communications with our neighbours on the continent, seemed to make necessary.

The recent introduction of cannon on-board ships of war, had also made it necessary that the size of them should be enlarged.

And though there were some few at that time employed in the businesses of commerce that were pretty considerable, as we see in the case of those belonging to Canning, the number of them was small, and their general size made them very in-

competent to the purposes of war in the manner it began to be carried on.

To execute this plan, Henry established building-yards at Woolwich, Deptford, and Chatham. He was at first obliged to hire foreign artificers, as we find by a curious report made to James the First in the year 1618, in answer to a commission issued by that prince to his several master-builders. The report is as followeth :

“In former times our kings have enlarged their dominions rather by land than sea forces, whereat even strangers have marvelled, considering the many advantages of a navy ; but since the change of *weapons* and *fight*, Henry the Eighth making use of *Italian shipwrights*, and encouraging his own people to build strong ships of war to carry great ordnance, by that means established a puissant navy, which in the end of his reign consisted of seventy vessels, whereof thirty were ships of burthen ; and contained in all 10,550 tons, and two galleys : the rest were small barks and row barges from eighty tons downwards to fifteen tons, which served in rivers, and for landing of men. Edward the Sixth in the sixth year of his reign had but fifty-three ships, containing in all 11005 tons, with 7995-men, whereof only twenty eight vessels were above eighty tons each. Queen Mary had but forty-six of all sorts.” All this from the report.

Though we are not acquainted with all the particular ships that formed the navy of Henry the Eighth, we know that amongst them were two very large ones, viz. the Regent and the Harry Grace de Dieu ; the former being burnt in 1412, in an engagement with the French, occasioned Henry to build the latter. However, if we consider the ships that formed the navy in the first year of Edward the Sixth as the navy left by his father, which I think we fairly may do, we shall be surprized

prized at the state to which he had raised it. Our worthy member Mr. Topham having already given us that list, makes it unnecessary to repeat mine. I only beg leave to observe, as it gives weight to my own MS. account of it, that my own account states it at 11,005 tons, and that given by Mr. Topham at 11,748 tons. As mine is taken in the sixth year of Edward, the little difference may be explained by the decay of some of those left by Henry, and not replaced in the pacific minority of Edward, if they ever were till the time of Elizabeth; for we find a more considerable decline in that of queen Mary.

Mr. Topham hath noticed a curious indenture that passed between Henry the Eighth and the lord Howard in the year 1512; but as he hath not given it at length, and it may be well considered as the basis of many of the regulations that have taken place since in our navy, and contains a respectable number of ships that constituted the fleet, it may be worth while to introduce it at length here.

“ Henry VIII. anno regni tertio, anno Dom. 1512.

“ Indentura inter Dominum regem, et Edwardum Howard, capitaneum generalem armatæ super mare, witnesseth that the said sir Edward is retained towards our said sovereign Lord, to be his admiral chief and general captain of the army which his highness hath proposed and ordained, and now setteth to the sea, for the safeguard and sure passage of his subjects, friends, allies, and confederates.

“ And the said Admiral shall have under him, in the said service, three thousand men harnessed and arrayed for the warfare, himself accounted in the same number, over and above seven hundred soldiers, mariners, and gunners that shall be in the *king's* ship, the Regent, a thousand seven hundred and fifty shall be soldiers, twelve hundred and thirty-three shall be mariners and gunners.

“ And

“ And the admiral promifeth and bindeth himfelf to our faid fovereign Lord by thefe presents to do unto his highnefs fuch fervice of war upon the fea, with the faid army and navy that he fhall have under him, as by the king’s own miffion made to him for the fame, under his great feal, certain instructions figned with our faid fovereign lord’s hands to thefe instruments attached, and by thefe presents, he is committed, deputed, and ordered to do ; and as to fuch a navy and army in fuch cafe it doth belong and appertain, during our faid fovereign Lord’s pleafure.

“ And the faid admiral fhall have, for maintaining himfelf, and his diets and rewards *daily*, during the faid voyage *ten fhillings*.

“ And for every of the faid captains, for their diets, wages, and rewards, daily during the faid krufe, *eighteen pence*, except they be of the king’s *fperys*, which fhall be contented with their ordinary wages.

“ And for every foldier, mariner, and gunner, he fhall have every month during the faid voyage, accounting *twenty-eight daies* for the month, *five fhillings* for his wages, and *five fhillings* for his victuals, without any thing elfe demanded for wages or *victuals*, faving that they fhall have certain *dead fhares*, as hereafter doth enfue, of all which wages, rewards, and victual-money the faid admiral fhall be paid in manner and form following : He fhall before he and his retinue enter into the fhips, make their moutres before fuch commissioners as fhall please our faid fovereign Lord to depute and appoint ; and immediately after fuch moutres be made, he fhall receive of our fovereign Lord, by the hands of fuch as his Grace fhall appoint for himfelf, the faid captains, foldiers, mariners, and gunners, wages, *rewards*, and victual-money, after the rate before rehearfed for three months then next enfuing, accounting the month as above.

“ And

“ And at the same time he shall receive for the cost of every captain and soldier *four shillings* ; and for the cost of every mariner and gunner *twenty pence* ; and at the end of the said three months, when the said admiral shall with his said navy and retinue resort to the port of Southampton, and then and there revictual himself, and the said navy and army, and retinue, he shall make his moustres before such commissioners as it shall please his Grace the king therefore to appoint within *bord* ; and after the said moustres so made, he shall, for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners, receive of our said sovereign Lord, by the hands of such as his Grace shall appoint, new wages and victual-money after the rate before rehearsed for the said three months next ensuing ; and so from three months to three months continually during the said time, the said admiral shall have also for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners afore the bestowing their bags, baggages, and victuals ; and for the exploit of the said service of war, at the cost and charges of our said sovereign Lord, eighteen ships, whereof the names and portage hereafter ensue, in such manner rigged, equipped, tackled, *decked*, and furnished with artillery, as to such a voyage and service for the honour of said sovereign Lord, and the weal of the journey, shall be thought to his Grace and his council necessary and expedient.

“ The said admiral shall have for his *dede shares* of the ships as hereafter ensueth ; that is to say, for the Regent being of the portage of 1000 tons, fifty dede shares and four pillotys ; also for the ship Mary Rose, of the portage of 500 tons, thirty dede shares and a half ; for the ship called the Peter Pomgrate, being of the portage of 400 tons, twenty-three dede shares and a half ; for the ship called the Nicolas Rheda, being of the portage of 400 tons, twenty-three dede shares and

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a half ; for the Mary and John, being of the portage of 260 tons, twenty-four dede shares and a half ; for the Ann of Greenwich, being of the portage of 160 tons, twenty-four dede shares and a half : for the Mary George, being of the portage of 300 tons, twenty dede shares and a half ; for the Dragon, of the portage of 100 tons, twenty-two dede shares and a half ; for the Barbara, of the portage of 140 tons, twenty dede shares and a half ; for the George of Falmouth, being of the *burthen* of 140 tons, twenty dede shares and a half ; for the Nicholas of Hampton, of the portage of *ten score* tons, twenty-two dede shares ; for the Martinet of *seven score* tons, twenty-two dede shares and a half ; for the Genet, of the portage of 70 tons, twenty-two dede shares and a half ; for the Christopher Davy, of the portage of 160 tons, twenty-two dede shares and a half ; for the Sabyon, of the portage of 120 tons, twenty dede shares.

“ And for the victualling and refreshing the said ships with water, and other necessaries, the said admiral shall, over and above the said ships, have two *crayers*, the one being of *three score* and fifty tons, wherein there shall be the master, twelve mariners, and one boy ; and every of the said masters and mariners shall have for his wages five shillings, and for his victual-money five shillings for every month, accounting the month as above ; and every of the said two boies shall have for their months wages two shillings and six-pence, and for their victuals five shillings ; and either of the said masters shall have three dede shares. And the other crayer shall have a master, ten mariners, and one boy, being of the *burthen* of 55 tons, with the same allowances.

“ Also the said soldiers, mariners, and gunners shall have of our sovereign Lord *conduct-money*, that is to say, every of them for every day's journey from his house to the place
where

where they shall be shipped, accounting *twelve miles* for the *day's journey*, six-pence, of which days they shall have evidence by their oaths before him or them that our said sovereign lord shall appoint and assign to pay them the said wages and conduct-money.

“ And for as much as our said sovereign Lord of his costs and charges equipped the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore answer our said Lord the *one half* of all manner of gains and winnings of the warre ; that the same admiral, or his retinue, or any of them, shall fortune to him in said voyage by land or water ; all prisoners being *chieftains*, or having our said sovereign Lord's adversaries power, and one ship *Royal*, being of the portage of 200 tons, or above, with the ordinance and apparel of every such prize that shall fortune to be taken by them in the said war, reserved to our said sovereign Lord all *artillery* contained within any other ship or ships by them to be taken : In witness whereof, &c.” Rymer, vol. XIII. p. 326. From this indenture it appears that the wages of seamen were only five shillings per month at this time, accounting twenty-eight days to the month, a rule observed in every subsequent increase of their wages, and still practised. In the reign of James the First I find them raised to ten shillings per month ; whether by that prince, or his predecessor, I cannot ascertain ; but I should rather suppose it was done by Elizabeth, as Charles the First, in the first year of his reign, raised them to fifteen shillings, which he probably would not have done, if his father had so recently raised them before. From this indenture it likewise appears that the king employed vessels used in trade by his subjects, and that his own were not considerable, at least in number ; for, except the *Regent* and the *Mary Rose*, I take it the rest were hired. The insignificant size of our ships

belonging to the navy is apparent also from ships of 200 tons being called ships *royal*, and reserved for the king, if captured.

But it is not only the size, but the form of building them, that renders these ships so contemptible in the opinion of persons in the least acquainted with naval architecture; for, if we could depend on the curious print given to us of the *Harry Grace de Dieu*, by Mr. Topham, it may fairly be pronounced that she was unfit for every purpose of navigation, not only in the *ocean*, but in the less tempestuous waves of the Mediterranean, and hardly safe out of a harbour any where. Another print of a large ship, published by Mr. Allen, and supposed, with some reason, by Mr. Topham, to have been built in James's reign, is less uncouth, though still an unpleasant picture of the state of ship-building at this time. If Mr. Topham's conjecture be right, we shall find that Mr. Pett, the builder of it, had wonderfully improved his skill in less than twenty-seven years; for, this ship, called the *Prince*, was launched in 1610*, and built by Pett. The *Royal Sovereign*,
built

* " This year, 1610, the king builded a most goodly ship for warre, the keel
" whereof was 114 feet in length, and the cross beam was 44 feet in length;
" she will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burden of 1400
" tons; this royal ship is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned within
" and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding,
" being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was builded in
" England; and this glorious ship the king gave to his son Henry, Prince of
" Wales; and the 24th of September the king, the queen, the Prince of Wales,
" the Duke of York, and the lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went unto
" Woolwich to see it launched, but because of the narrowness of the dock, it
" could not then be laueched; whereupon the prince came the next morning
" by three of the clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it
" after his own dignity, and called it the *Prince*." The great workmaster in
building this ship was Master Phinies Pett, gentleman, sometime Master of Arts
at Emanuel College, Cambridge.

built by the same man in 1637, gives us the first idea of any knowledge in the art ; and is really an astonishing proof of the rapid progress it had made ; for, she continued a useful and valuable ship in our navy, until the beginning of the present century. She was in all the actions at sea during the reigns of Charles the Second and William the Third, and did great service in the fight off La Hogue in 1692. If, however, this print of Allen's doth refer to the ship called the Prince, it is to be hoped that those built for trade, and we find very large ones, some even of 1000 and 1100 tons in our East-India trade at this time, were more equal to those distant voyages. The most despicable opinion, however, may be admitted as to the form of these ships in the early periods of the art, and how unfit they were for carrying the guns allotted to them, when we are told that the Mary Rose, a royal ship of 500 tons, was lost at Spithead by the water rushing in at her *lower* ports, which were placed only *sixteen* inches from the edge of the water.

In these early periods it may be curious to notice the several gradual improvements that took place. Sir Walter Raleigh's account is very explicit as to many of them. In Birch's edition of his Memoirs, vol. II. p. 78, he says, "Whoever were the inventor, we find that every age had added somewhat to ships ; and in my time the shape of our English ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the *top-masts*, a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea, and in the harbour, hath been devised, together

It is not improbable that this was the ship, and not the Great Harry, of which Mr. Allen published the print from an old picture, and is a valuable intermediate step between that ship and the Royal Sovereign, built by the same master, in the reign of Charles the First. Vide Stow's Chronicle, p. 994.

He also mentions a merchant-ship, built the year before, in 1609, by the East-India Company, of 1200 tons.

with

with the *chain pump*, which taketh up twice as much water as the ordinary did (this hath been wonderfully augmented since) ; we have lately added the *bonnet* and the *drabler* (sails) to the courses ; we have added *fludding* sails, (these are now added to by *stay-sails*, *top-gallant-sails*, *sprit-sails*, and *top-sails*) ; the weighing anchors by the *capisten* ; we have fallen into consideration of the length of cables (they, from another manuscript account in my possession, were under eighty fathom), and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow ; witness the Hollanders that were wont to ride before Dunkirk, with the wind at N. E. making a lee-shore in all weathers ; for, true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities ; and the reason is, that it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship riding at that length is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched : we carry our *ordnance* better than we were wont ; for, in King Henry the Eighth's time, and in his presence at Portsmouth, the *Mary Rose*, by a little sway of the ship in *sailing* about, her ports being within *sixteen* inches of the water, was overfet and lost." He says again, in p. 95, "she must carry out her ordnance in all weathers, provided that the lowest tier of ordnance must lie *four feet* clear above the water, when all her loading is in." To proceed with Sir Walter's observations, in p. 99 ; speaking of the *ordnance*, he says, "there is a great superfluity, many ships having 40 pieces of brass cannon, and only twenty gunners to manage them ;" and he thinks that twenty or thirty pieces of brass cannon, demy-cannon, culverine, and demy-culverine, are very sufficient.

Indeed, unless the proportion of the larger pieces was very small, I do not see how the ship could bear them ; especially as in p. 94 he recommends a ship of 650 tons in preference

to one of 1200 tons (this possibly refers to the *Royal Charles*, built at the very conclusion of James's reign); and says "she can carry as large, though not so many, guns. He recommends a dock to be built at *Plymouth* (at that time not established), and mentions among other improvements, that the second deck should be raised.

All this, and a great deal more, hath been done since his time; for, the cables, which then were about seventy-eight fathom, are now one hundred and twenty; and two cables an end are frequently made use of. The size of the anchors hath been increased: the sheet-anchor of the first *Royal Sovereign* weighed only 4400lb, though she was about the size of our present seventy-four gun ships, viz. about 1651 tons, whose sheet-anchor weighs 6700lb.; the sheet anchor of the *Prince*, burthen about 1230 tons, weighed only 3200lb.; that of our present sixty gun ships about the same tonnage, viz. 1220 tons, weighs 5300lb. Another considerable improvement occurs in the masts and yards of the two periods; for as we have with great judgement increased the weights of our anchors, we have, with no less knowledge, decreased the size of the masts and yards. The main-mast of the *Prince* was 102 feet long, the diameter of it three feet three inches; the main-mast of our sixty gun ships, as above, is only ninety-four feet ten inches long, diameter two feet seven inches $\frac{1}{4}$. I am not able to ascertain the masts and yards of the *Royal Sovereign*; it may be sufficient to observe that the main-mast of our present *Royal George*, burthen about 2300 tons, is only 117 feet long; that she hath one deck more than the *Prince*, which probably takes off eight or nine feet of that length: the diameter of it is only three feet two inches $\frac{1}{2}$, not quite so thick as that of the *Prince*, although almost double her tonnage; the main-yard of the *Prince* was ninety-six
feet

feet long, diameter two feet; that of our sixty gun ships main-yard is eighty-four feet two inches long; diameter one foot eight inches $\frac{1}{4}$. Any person acquainted with the importance of diminishing the weights above water of a ship as much as possible, will be sensible of this great improvement; as also of the reduction in the quarter galleries of our great ships. Those in a ninety gun ship are now not larger than they used to be in our old forty gun ships; the poop royal, in our present first-rates, is omitted, and that enormous weight aloft taken away; nothing is given to parade; the height between decks, at least in the cabin part, is lessened almost two feet.

That great seaman Sir Walter Raleigh early observed the great mischief accruing to the service by building in *private* yards, and recommends strongly that no large ship should be builded except in the king's yards; for that all such ships did not endure, and this evil still attends all such ships as are built by contract.

If the construction of the ships was so rude and imperfect at this time, the manner of fighting them doth not seem to have been much better; for, we find in the action in 1549, between the two great fleets of France and England, the former consisting of ninety, and the latter of one hundred vessels, that after a *close* fight of *two* hours, the French historian, M. du Bellay observes, there were not less than 300 shot fired on *both sides*. Lord Rodney, in his memorable engagement in which the Ville de Paris was taken, informed me himself, that he fired eleven broadsides from his own ship, which, as she carried ninety-eight guns, was probably almost double the number fired on *both sides* between these two mighty fleets. In the earlier state of naval engagement, before the introduction of cannon, the manner of fight was still ruder, and more barbarous; for, the combatants fought on platforms raised on
the

the decks of the vessels, something, I suppose, like those at Otaheite, as described by captain Cook, and endeavoured with the beaks of their vessels (the ancient rostrum) to sink those of their opponent, or, by a brisk exertion of their oars, to break those of the enemy, and thus render them unmanageable. This mode of fight continued to 1213, and was practised in the great fight that year between the French and English fleets. It must have been attended with a great deal more slaughter than that which hath followed the use of cannon.

We now get into the reign of Elizabeth, and see with pleasure the brilliant state of our rising navy. The wars she was obliged to carry on with Spain not only obliged her to increase it, but were the occasion of breeding up such a race of naval heroes, as no age or country ever produced within the same compass of time. It is not the business of this little tract to do justice to their memories by recording them; the names of Raleigh, Drake, Forbisher, Cavendish, Cumberland, and many others, need but be mentioned to be remembered with honour by their grateful countrymen. It will be unnecessary to say more of the navy at this time, as Ledyard and others have given full and pretty correct lists of it, than that she increased it to 17030 tons. It consisted of 42 vessels, about 30 of which may be esteemed ships of the line, as those down to 200 tons were called ships royal. She did not increase the size of her ships beyond that of her father's, unless we allow the *Triumph* to be so, if she was 1100 tons, as some lists mention her to be; there are many, however, of 900, 800, 700, and 600 tons. The *Mary Rose*, and three others, appear to be the only ships, except the *Great Harry*, belonging to her father, of so large a size as 500 tons. If we credit secretary Burchet, they, however, carried a great number of guns; one carried 100, and nine others from sixty to eighty-eight guns. On Bur-

chet's authority I likewise note that *gun-powder* did not begin to be manufactured in *England* until this Princess's reign, though cannon, &c. had been so long in use before. The guns continued to be of dissimilar calibres on the same deck, and probably the same practice obtained abroad; for, Peter Hilton in his account of the engagement, in the Gulph of Persia, between some of our ships, assisted by others belonging to the Dutch, against the Portuguese fleet, says, 'that the Admiral, a carrack of 1700 tons, carried only forty-eight pieces of brass cannon;' but then they were whole cannon (60lb. ball), demi cannon (31lb.), cannon petro (24lb.), whole culverine (18lb.), and demi culverine (9lb. ball). In this place it may not be amiss to state the calibres and names of the other pieces employed in our ancient service at sea. Besides the canon *royal* already mentioned, which were sometimes of 63lb. ball; there were the French Cannon, 43lb. the Saker of 5lb.; the Minion 4lb.; the Faulcon 2lb. ball. It may be observed that these were lighter and shorter than those used now; for instance, the 32lb^r weighed only about 4000lb. whereas the present guns of that bore weigh from 53 to 5500lb.; their 9lb^r weighed 2700lb.; our present ones only 2300lb. The length of them in the old service were only eight feet six inches, through all the calibres; from ten feet to nine feet six inches, is the length of those in our present service. It may be observed that Elizabeth did not increase the magnitude of her ships beyond that of the Great Harry, nor is there any larger taken notice of till the 8th of James, when the Prince of 1200 tons is said to have been built. Charles the First, indeed, built one much larger still, which must have been a prodigy in the English navy at that time, not only from its size, viz. 1657 tons, but from the beauty

beauty and superior knowledge in the art that were displayed in it. But of this ship I shall speak more largely when I come to the reign of Charles the First.

It may be observed, that the number of guns continued to be very considerable, through the reigns of James the First, Charles the First, and the Usurpation, and even so low down perhaps as the beginning of that of Charles the Second; for, the Royal Catharine, built in 1664, carried eighty-four guns, though only 1050 tons; the Saint Michael, built in 1669, carried ninety guns, though only 1011 tons; the St. George of ninety guns, built in 1662, was only 933 tons. We find them almost as insignificant in the beginning of William and Mary; for I have the copies of three ships, the one of eighty guns, tonnage 1140; and of fifty, tonnage 616; and another of twenty-four guns, tonnage 226; built by contract in 1693.

To account, in some measure, for this extraordinary number of guns, carried on-board ships that from their dimensions seemed very unequal to bear them, it may be observed, that from the time the old custom of carrying cannon of dissimilar calibres on the same deck was laid aside, and the number of them increased, it became necessary to diminish the calibres. Perhaps this alteration took place towards the end of the reign of Charles the First, and I shall give my reason for thinking so hereafter. It is now time to say something (I wish I could say more) of the state of the navy in the reign of James the First.

In this peaceful period, it seems to have declined considerably, instead of advancing; for, from my MS. it consisted, in the whole, of only 15960 tons, whereas Elizabeth had left him 17030; and in this number of James's it is surprising to find so many of them reported to be unserviceable. This report is dated in 1618, as followeth:

			<i>Tons.</i>
	Prince Royal	- -	1200
	White Bear	- -	900
	More Honour	- -	800
	Ann Royal	- -	800
	Due Repulse	- -	700
	Defiance	- - -	700
	Warspight	- -	600
	Affurance	- - -	600
	Vantguard	- -	600
	Red Lyon	- -	500
	Nonfuch	- -	500
	Rainbow	- -	500
	Dreadnought	-	400
<i>May be made serviceable.</i>	Speedwell	- -	400
	Antelope	- -	350
	Adventure	- -	250
	Crane	- -	200
	Answer	- -	200
	Phoenix	- -	150
	Lion's Whelp	-	90
	Moon	- -	100
	Seven Stars	- -	100
	Defire	- -	50
<i>May be made serviceable.</i>	George Hoy	-	100
	Primrose	- -	80
	Eagle Lighter	-	200
	Elizabeth Jonas	-	500
<i>Decayed and unserviceable.</i>	Triumph	-	1001
	Garland	- -	700
	Mary Rose	- -	600
	Bonadventure	- -	560
	Quittance	- -	200
	Advantage	- -	200
	Tramontane	- -	160

Primrose

		Tons.
<i>Galleys.</i>	Primrose Pennaa	30
	Difdain	30
	Charles	100
	Ketch	10
	Superlative	100
	Advantagia	100
	Vollatilla	100
	Gallerita	100
Total		15960

Forty vessels, of which eight are decayed and unserviceable, and seven more that wanted repair.

I have an account, which is curious enough to have a place here, of this navy, which contains not only the names of the vessels, but the number and calibre of their guns; from which it appears that guns of dissimilar bores continued to be employed on the same deck from the time of Henry the Eighth down to this period in 1624, at least.

Tons.

Tons.	Names.	No. of Pieces.	Calves.	Pieces.	Demi Cannon.	Culver.	Demi Culver.	Sakers.	Miscan.	Falcons.	Port Pieces.	Fowlers.
1200	Prince . .	55	2	6	12	18	13	—	—	—	4	—
900	Bear . .	51	2	6	12	18	9	—	—	—	4	—
800	More Honor	44	2	6	12	12	8	—	—	—	4	—
800	Ann . .	44	2	5	12	13	8	—	—	—	4	—
700	Repulse . .	40	2	2	14	12	4	—	—	—	2	—
700	Defiance . .	40	2	2	14	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
921	Triumph . .	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
880	St. George . .	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
880	St. Andrew	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
876	Swiftsure . .	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
870	Victory . .	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
750	Reformation	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
650	Warspight . .	38	2	4	13	13	4	—	—	2	—	—
651	Vanguard . .	40	2	—	14	12	4	—	—	2	—	—
650	Rainbow . .	40	2	—	14	12	4	—	—	2	—	4
650	Red Lion . .	38	2	—	14	12	4	—	—	2	—	4
600	Assurance . .	38	2	—	10	12	10	—	—	—	—	4
600	Nonfuch . .	38	2	—	12	12	6	—	—	2	—	4
674	Bonadventure	34	—	—	4	14	10	2	—	—	—	4
680	Garland . .	32	—	—	4	12	10	2	—	—	—	4
580	Entrance . .	32	—	—	4	12	10	2	—	—	—	4
500	Conventine	34	—	—	—	18	10	2	—	—	—	4
450	Dreadnought	32	—	—	—	16	10	2	—	—	—	4
450	Antelope . .	34	—	—	4	14	10	2	—	—	—	4
350	Adventure . .	26	—	—	—	12	6	4	—	—	—	4
388	Mary Rose . .	26	—	—	—	8	10	4	—	—	—	4
250	Phoenix . .	20	—	—	—	—	12	4	2	—	—	4
250	Crane . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250	Answer . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
140	Moon . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
140	Seven Stars	14	—	—	—	2	6	6	—	—	—	—
140	Charles . .	14	—	—	—	—	2	6	4	—	—	—
80	Defire . .	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	—

The St. Michael, though in neither of these two lists, is said to have been built in 1609; she was 1107 tons, and therefore properly should belong to the reign of James the First; I find her existing in a list of 1700. My MS. account however says she was built in 1600; if so, she belongs to the reign of Elizabeth.

We find but few materials for the reign of Charles the First. The ships mentioned by Sir William Monson to have been

been built by him are few, and not large, except the last, if we may be allowed to estimate their magnitude from the number of men allotted to each of them. The subsequent troubles of his reign, when the contention about the rights of the prince and the claims of his subjects grew so violent, prevented his application to this important subject, which he, however, seemed to be well acquainted with. The ships therefore, built by him, are only the Ten Whelps, seventy men, the Mary Pinnace twenty-five men, the Charles, 250 men, the James, 260, the Victory, 250, the Leopard, 170, the Swallow, 150, and the Sovereign, 1657 tons. Heywood, the old historian, hath given a very full and curious account of this last ship, which, as it corresponds pretty exactly with a drawing of her in my possession, taken from a painting of her, and that very ancient, which was preserved at Blackwall, where Pett, the builder, had his residence, and suffered to be copied by Mr. White, master-builder in Portsmouth Dockyard, from whom I obtained this drawing; perhaps it will not be trespassing too much on the indulgence of the Society, if I am permitted to give this account by Heywood.

“ The length of her keel is 128 feet, or thereabouts, within some few inches, her main breadth forty-eight feet; her utmost length from the fore end of her beak-head unto the after end of the stern *à prora ad puppim* 232 feet; she is in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lantern, seventy-six feet; she beareth five lanterns, the biggest of which will hold ten persons to stand upright, without shouldering or pressing each other; she hath three flush decks, and a fore-castle, a half deck, a quarter deck, and a round house; her lower tier hath thirty ports, which are to be furnished with demi cannon, and whole cannon throughout, being able to bear

bear them ; her middle tier hath also thirty ports for demi culverine and whole culverine ; her third tier hath twenty-six ports for other ordnance ; her forecastle hath twelve ports, and two half decks have thirteen or fourteen ports more within board for murdering pieces, besides a great many loopholes out of the cabins for musket shot ; she carrieth moreover ten pieces of chace ordnance in her, right forward, and ten right aft, that is, according to land service, in the front and the rear ; she carrieth eleven anchors, one of them weighing 4400lb. (a ship of this burthen would now have her sheet anchor 6700lb).

“ The prime workman is captain Phineas Pett, overseer of the work, whose ancestors, father, grandfather, and great grandfather, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, have continued, in the same name, officers and architects in the royal navy.” As this ship was built in 1637, this account would carry something like a regular establishment, as far back as 1437, the reign of Henry the Sixth.

However, it is a remarkable account of this family, especially as I can farther add to the uncommonness of it, that the same family made a distinguished figure in the same line, and the same office in the king's yard, to the end of William the Third ; but to return to Heywood. “ The master-builder is young Mr. Pett, who, before he was twenty-five years, made the model and perfected the work : the master-carvers are John and Matthew Christmas, Francis Shelton, clerk of the cheque : she hath two galleries besides, and all of most curious carved work, and all the sides of the ship carved with trophies of artillery, and types of honour, as well belonging to sea as land, with symbols appertaining to navigation ; also their two sacred majesties badges of honour ; arms with several

veral angels holding their letters in compartments, all which works are gilded over, and no other colour but gold and black ; one tree or oak made four of the principal beams, which was forty-four feet, of strong serviceable timber in length, three feet diameter at the top, and ten feet at the stub or bottom ; she is 1637 tons, the year in which she was built.

“ Upon the stem-head a Cupid or child bridling a lion ; upon the bulk-head, right forward, stand six statues, in sundry postures ; these figures represent Concilium, Cura, Conamen, Vis, Virtus, Victoria.

“ Upon the hamers of the water are four figures, Jupiter, Mars, Neptune, Æolus ; on the stern, Victory, in the midst of a Frontispiece ; upon the beak-head sitteth king Edgar on horseback, trampling on seven kings.”

It may be proper to mention, in order to account for the difference in the tonnage stated here from that which I have given, in 1637 instead of 1657, that the old mode of calculating the tonnage was different from that practised now. The old mode was by multiplying the length of keel by the extreme breadth, and multiplying that product by the depth in the hold, and then dividing by 96 for men of war. This was correct enough while the depth in the hold continued to be exactly one half of the extreme breadth, which it did for many years ; but we have latterly lessened the depth in the hold considerably from that proportion ; for, in a first rate, by the establishment of 1745, the half breadth was twenty-five feet six inches, while the depth in the hold was only twenty-one feet six inches, four feet less than the half breadth. They anciently divided the whole product, as I have said, by 96, we now divide it by 94, which, indeed, they did formerly for the merchants' service, though they fixed on 96 for the king's ships.

In honour of commerce we must observe that the size of our ships gradually increased as that became more diffused, and extended to more remote parts of the earth. Lesser vessels served the purposes of trade, while it was limited to the neighbouring parts of Europe ; but the discoveries of the East and West Indies soon suggested the necessity of having larger vessels for such long voyages, that would consume so much time to perform them, and in which every convenience and supply for three years, or more, must accompany the merchandize. We find, accordingly, that the first very large vessels called caracks, of 16 and even of 1700 tons, were early introduced into their East India trade by the Portuguese, the first discoverers and settlers in those distant countries ; nor did the Spanish importance at sea commence until Philip the Second had annexed Portugal to his dominions. All the large vessels in his memorable Armada of 1588 were Portuguese vessels ; and it was not until 1591, according to Sir William Monson, that he thought of building such large ships for himself. He then ordered the Twelve Apostles, of 13 and 1400 tons to be built.

We also find the necessity of obliging our own East India Company to build very large ships ; for, I find two vessels, the James of 1000 tons, and the Trades Increase of 1100 tons, employed in their service in the reign of James the First, being as large or larger than any at that time belonging to the Royal Navy.

Sir William Monson says that even in the twenty-fourth of Elizabeth we had 135 vessels of 500 tons and *upwards*, belonging to the merchants ; so rapidly had trade increased at that early period of it.

Trade, therefore gradually increasing, gradually increased the size and number of our ships in the royal navy, and hath, at last, fixed the latter, as well as the wealth of the nation in

general, on the respectable footing they now maintain. Trade must continue to support what trade hath so prosperously effected. Trade only can raise seamen, and without the necessary number of seamen our navy must become useless very soon.

It is from the want of attention to this necessary connection between the extension of commerce and the state of a navy, that the Spaniards have continued to increase the latter, while they have neglected the former; and are not able to man more than one half of the ships they have built. The number makes a figure on paper; but the want of seamen takes away all their consequence.

The materials for this account are also very scanty during the Usurpation and Oliver's time; though from what I have been able to collect, it sufficiently appears that the size of the ships was not increased; and that the great naval officer, the gallant Blake, was more intent on making much and honourable use of the ships he found built, than of adding much to their number, and nothing to their magnitude. In the following account of them, we may observe that their depth in the hold is much below the usual proportion. As the only enemy he could have to contend with were the Dutch, no other state having then any sea force at all, is it not probable that this proportion in the hold had been lessened purposely for engaging the Dutch ships in the shallow waters on their own coast; as this diminution occasioned their drawing considerably less water? As some of Blake's fleets appear to be numerous, it is likely that many of Charles's ships were still left and formed a part of them. We know particularly that the *Triumph*, the *James*, and the *Vanguard*, that figured in those actions, were ships built by Charles. We even find the *Royal Charles*, built by him so late as 1684, as also the *Victory* and *James*. As this list is very particular, though not

numerous, and gives a distinction, for the first time, of the difference in men and guns, when the ships were employed abroad or at home, I hope I may be allowed to insert it at full length.

Men.	Tons.	Ship's Name.	Depth.	Length.	Breadth.	By whom.	Guns.	Men abroad.	Men at home.	Where.
1650	567	Affiance	12	102	32,4	Johnfon	48	197	264	Deptford.
1650	544	Advice	12,4	100	32	Commiff. Pett	48	197	226	Woolwich.
1653	670	Briftol	13,6	109	34	J. Tippetts	48	197	226	Portsmouth.
1649	550	Bonaventure	12,6	102	31,10	Pett, junior	48	197	226	Chatham.
1654	577	Crown	13	106	32	R. Catle	48	197	226	Redriffe.
1654	662	Dover	12,11	100	32,6	W. Ourtel	46	182	216	Shoreham.
1647	402	Dragon	12,6	96	30,1	Goddard	46	182	333	Woolwich.
1657	768	Dunkirk	14,9	112	35,11	Burrel	60	264	332	Portsmouth.
1650	684	Monk	13,7	108	34,6	J. Tippetts	60	264	332	Woolwich.
1649	829	Mary	14,6	116	36,8	C. Pett	64	274	346	Portsmouth.
1654	836	Montague	15,6	118	36,6	J. Tippetts	62	374	346	Radcliffe.
1653	641	Newcastle	13,6	108,6	33,4	Pett, junior	54	236	274	Wapping.
1654	833	Plymouth	14,6	116	36,9	J. Taylor	60	264	332	Woolbridge
1658	573	Referve	12,8	100	32,10	P. Pett	48	197	226	Deptford.
1651	556	Ruby	13	105,6	31,6	P. Pett, junior	48	197	226	Blackwall.
1647	448	Tyger	12	99	29	Phin. Pett	46	197	226	Woolwich.
1654	745	York	14,7	116	34,9	Sir Tho. Johnfon	60	264	332	Portsmouth.

We have now reached the reign of Charles the Second. The struggles for liberty happily terminated; and freedom, in a great measure established on solid and permanent foundations, allowed the nation to prosecute again the beneficial arts of trade and industry. We see with pleasure, therefore, the happy effects of peace and security, in the powerful fleets raised in this reign: fleets that gave us truly the dominion of the sea, and especially as those of the Dutch, our only competitors at this time, decreased as rapidly as ours increased. It was some time after this before the French began to be formidable at sea.

I know the list of this Prince's navy hath already been published; but, I am informed, not in the complete manner that I am able to give it. May I be allowed to give mine, without distressing too much the patience of my readers? It will be, at the worst, only a table of reference, which the reader may omit as much of as he pleases. It will be seen that the same difference in the guns and men employed at home and abroad, continued to be observed; that it continued down to the beginning of the present century, through the reigns of William the Third, and through the greatest part of even that of Anne; and, what may want some explanation is, that the least number is allotted to the service abroad, where, from the difficulty of supplying them, we should have expected the greatest number, especially in the men. This list is dated 1684.

	Tons.	Ship's Name.	Guns at home.	Guns abroad.	Men at home.	Men abroad.
First Rate, Nine.	1684					
	1313	St. Andrew	96	86	730	670
	1715	Britannia	100	90	780	670
	1441	Royal Charles . . .	100	90	780	670
	1398	Charles	96	86	710	605
	1441	Royal James	100	90	780	670
	1328	London	96	86	730	620
	1107	St. Michael	90	80	600	520
	1400	Royal Prince	100	90	780	670
Second Rate, Fourteen.	1545	Royal Sovereign . .	100	90	815	710
	1475	Dutchess	90	82	660	500
	900	St. George	70	62	460	310
	1050	Royal Catharine . .	84	74	540	360
	1497	Neptune	90	82	660	500
	968	French Ruby	80	72	520	350
	1395	Sandwich	90	82	660	500
	898	Triumph	70	60	460	310
	1029	Victory	82	72	530	350
	845	Unicorne	64	54	410	270
	1357	Vanguard	90	82	660	500
	1462	Windfor Castle . . .	90	82	660	500
	1462	Albermarle	90	82	660	500
	1546	Duke	90	82	660	500
	1400	Offory	90	82	660	500
Third Rate.	1090	Anne	70	62	460	380
	1089	Berwick	70	62	460	380
	1050	Breda	70	62	460	380
	1174	Burford	70	62	460	380
	1164	Captain	70	62	460	380
	941	Cambridge	70	60	420	345
	704	Dunkirk	60	52	340	270
	735	Dreadnought	62	54	355	280
	902	Defiance	70	56	400	320
	998	Edgar	70	62	445	370
	1057	Eagle	70	62	490	380
	1064	Essex	70	62	460	380

Third

	Tons,	Ships Names.	Guns		Men	
			at home.	abroad.	at home.	abroad.
<i>Third Rate.</i>	1059	Expedition . . .	70	62	460	380
	1150	Elizabeth . . .	70	62	460	380
	1184	Grafton . . .	70	62	460	380
	1054	Hope . . .	70	62	460	380
	1105	Hampton-Court . .	70	62	460	380
	987	Harwich . . .	70	60	420	345
	763	Henrietta . . .	62	54	350	280
	1064	Kent . . .	70	62	460	380
	1096	Lenox . . .	70	52	460	380
	727	Lyon . . .	60	52	340	270
	795	Mary . . .	64	54	360	250
	880	Monmouth . . .	66	58	400	320
	696	Monk . . .	60	52	340	270
	809	Montague . . .	62	54	356	280
	1115	Northumberland . .	70	62	460	380
	1107	Royal Oak . . .	74	64	470	390
	752	Plymouth . . .	60	52	340	210
	885	Resolution . . .	70	60	420	270
	1033	Restoration . . .	70	62	460	300
	813	Rupert . . .	66	58	400	255
	1114	Sterling Castle . .	70	62	460	300
	978	Swiftsure . . .	70	60	420	270
	1151	Suffolk . . .	70	62	460	300
	892	Warspight . . .	70	60	420	270
	734	York . . .	60	52	340	210
<i>Fourth Rate.</i>	1093	Pendennis . . .	70	62	460	300
	1151	Exeter . . .	70	62	60	300
	432	Adventure . . .	44	38	190	160
	545	Advice . . .	48	42	230	200
	576	Antelope . . .	48	42	230	200
	555	Assistance . . .	48	42	230	200
	372	Assurance . . .	42	36	180	150
	510	Bonadventure . . .	48	42	230	200
	547	Bristol . . .	48	32	230	200
	526	Charles Galley . .	32	32	220	220
	531	Centurion . . .	48	42	230	200

Fourth

Tons.	Ship names.	Guns			
		at home	abroad	at home	abroad
530	Crowne . . .	48	42	230	200
374	Constant Warwick	42	46	180	150
638	St. David . . .	54	46	280	240
550	Diamond . . .	48	42	230	200
544	Dover . . .	48	42	230	200
479	Dragon . . .	41	40	220	185
538	Forefight . . .	48	42	230	200
367	Faulcon . . .	42	36	180	150
539	Greenwich . . .	54	46	280	240
470	Hampshire . . .	46	40	220	185
623	Happy Return . .	54	46	280	240
433	James Gally . . .	30	30	200	200
558	Jersey . . .	48	42	230	200
664	King's Fisher . .	46	40	220	185
676	Leopard . . .	54	46	280	240
555	Mary Rose . . .	48	42	230	200
625	Newcastle . . .	54	46	280	240
345	Nonfuch . . .	42	36	180	150
677	Oxford . . .	54	46	280	240
468	Portsmouth . . .	46	40	220	185
368	Phoenix . . .	42	36	180	150
588	Portland . . .	50	44	240	210
538	Reserve . . .	48	42	230	200
532	Ruby . . .	48	42	230	200
559	Swallow . . .	48	42	230	200
376	Sweepstakes . . .	42	36	180	180
590	Tyger . . .	46	40	230	200
649	Tyger's Prize . .	46	40	230	200
716	Woolwich . . .	54	46	280	240
722	Golden Horse Prize	46	40	230	200
556	Half Moons . . .	44	38	190	160
552	Two Lyons of Algiers	44	38	190	160
567	Mordaunt . . .	46	40	230	200

Fourth Rate.

Of the line, 105 ships.

Fifth

	Tons	Ship's Name.	Guns		Men	
			at home.	abroad.	at home.	abroad.
Fifth Rate.	265	Dartmouth	32	28	135	115
	255	Garland	32	28	130	110
	255	Guernsey	30	28	130	110
	294	Mermaid	32	28	135	115
	260	Pearl	30	28	130	115
	234	Rose	28	26	128	115
	223	Richmond	28	26	125	115
	305	Swan	32	28	135	115
	346	Sapphire	32	28	135	115
	280	Orange Tree	30	28	130	110
	260	St. Paul's Prize . . .	32	28	135	115
Sixth Rate.	151	Drake	16	14	75	65
	79	Deptford Ketch . . .	10	10	50	40
	33	Fanfan	4	4	30	28
	145	Francis	16	14	75	65
	175	Greyhound	16	14	75	65
	199	Lark	18	16	85	70
	79	Quaker Ketch . . .	10	10	50	40
	144	Roebuck, in the Privy Seal to be fold.				
Sloops.	80	Sondades	16	14	75	65
	57	Boneta	4	4	10	10
	50	Hound	4	4	10	10
	46	Hunter	4	4	10	10
	57	Woolwich	4	4	10	10
Fire Ships.	250	Ann and Christopher . .	8	8	45	40
	240	Castle	8	8	45	40
	305	Eagle	12	12	45	40
	178	John and Alexander . .	8	8	35	30
	175	Providence	8	8	35	30
	250	Spanish Merchant . .	8	8	45	40
	240	Sampson	12	12	50	45
	127	Sarah	6	6	30	25
	135	Thomas and Catharine . .	8	8	35	30
	8	Young Spragge . . .	6	6	25	20
	145	Peace	10	10	50	40
	163	Golden Rose	8	8	35	30

	Tons	Ship Names.	Guns at home.	Guns abroad.	Men at home.	Men abroad.
Yachts.	100	Anne	8	6	30	20
	135	Bizan	4	4	8	8
	167	Cleveland	8	6	30	20
	24	Deale	4	4	8	8
	148	Tubs	12	10	40	30
	26	Isabella	4	4	4	4
	31	Isle of Whight	4	4	5	5
	131	Catharine	8	6	30	20
	109	Merlin	8	6	30	20
	103	Monmouth	8	6	30	20
	155	Mary	8	6	30	20
	143	Charlotte	8	6	30	20
	133	Portsmouth	8	6	30	20
	74	Navy	8	6	30	20
	27	Queenborough	4	4	4	4
	64	Richmond	—	—	—	—
	101	Kitchen	8	6	30	20
	159	Henrietta	8	6	30	20
Small Vessels.	33	Marygold	—	—	5	5
	16	Little London	—	—	2	2
	65	Lighter Hoy	—	—	3	3
	18	Sheerness	—	—	2	2
	34	Royal Escape	—	—	10	10
	40	Unity Horse Boat	—	—	4	4
	70	Transporter	—	—	3	3
Hulks.	10	Tow Engine	—	—	2	—
	987	Arms of Rotterdam	—	—	7	—
	446	America	—	—	20	—
	516	Arms of Home	—	—	8	—
	716	Alphen	—	—	4	—
	350	Elias	—	—	2	—
	440	Stadtholder	—	—	4	—
	772	Slothany	—	—	7	—
	15	Sherk Smack	—	—	—	—

105 line of battle ships; 11 fifth rates; 16 sloops; 9 smaller sloops; 18 yachts; 8 smaller ditto; 8 hulks.—Total 175.
 201,273 tons.

If I may presume to account for this difference between the home and the foreign service, which, I find by looking over my old lists of the navy continued so late as the year 1730, it should be, by observing, to the credit of government, that our several naval yards at Jamaica, Halifax, and Antigua, were not then established; but which, being now established, and affording every possible supply to our navy abroad, hath made it unnecessary for our ships on foreign service, to encumber themselves with such extra provisions, of masts, yards, cordage, and even of victuals, as such a length of time required; and left them at liberty to perform those distant services, with the same force of guns and men abroad as at home.

It will be unnecessary to swell this account with any more lists of our navy. It may be sufficient to observe that the ships built in the reign of William the Third, though they added very much to the number, did not very much add to the size of them; for, except a new Royal Sovereign built towards the end of his reign of 1882 tons, and which remained a serviceable ship till about 1786, we find no other that equalled the magnitude of the Britannia of 1715 tons, which was built by Charles the Second. The second rates seem to have increased in size; and it is not to be wondered at, when we find the calibre of their guns to be the same, as that used for the first rates; the third rates, indeed, are larger, and so are the fourth rates. The first rates, at a medium, were about 1600; the second 1370; the eighties 1200; the seventies 1047; the sixties 876; the fifties about 650 tons.

As the old practice of carrying guns of dissimilar calibres was now laid aside (it had continued, probably, till some time in the reign of Charles the First, when the Royal Sovereign was built), it may be curious to see, as summarily as

possible, the state of them in each age, so low down as 1709. I observed, I think, that the calibre for the first and second rates were the same, which is rather surprising as the disproportion in their tonnage was considerable; the medium of the first-rates being about 1600, and that of the second rates, only 1370. I must be allowed the liberty of observing that I think too little attention hath been generally paid to this difference of tonnage, even in ships of the same class; some of our first rates, even at present, though larger by more than 200 tons, carry the same calibre of guns uniformly, without any attention to the difference in their size.

But to return to the calibres in 1709: the first and second rates carried 32lb^{rs} on the lower deck, 18lb^{rs} on the middle deck, and 9lb^{rs} on the upper or main deck; the ships of eighty guns carried only 24lb^{rs} on the lower deck, 12lb^{rs} on the middle deck, and 6lb^{rs} on the upper or main deck; the seventy gun ships carried 24lb^{rs} on the lower deck. In the beginning of William's reign, they carried only 18lb^{rs} on that deck, and only 9lb^{rs} on the upper deck; the sixty gun ships carried 18lb^{rs} on the lower, and 9lb^{rs} on the upper deck; the fifties 12lb^{rs} below, and 6lb^{rs} on the upper deck; the fifth rates 9lb^{rs} below, and 6lb^{rs} on the main deck. The frigates were certainly too small for the quality and number of their guns, being generally only about 260 tons, and yet carrying twenty-four guns, twenty of them 6lb^{rs} and four of them 4lb^{rs}. Our sloops, at this time, upwards of 300 tons, carry only fourteen, and some few sixteen, 6lb^{rs}.

With the greatest diffidence in my own opinion, and ready submission to professional men, I must beg leave to observe, that the weight of the guns allotted to the sea service hath been too heavy for the size of the ships, as, perhaps, the following instance may evince.

In

In seven years after this establishment in 1790, viz. in 1716, a new one was directed to be made by the flag officers, of whom Byng, afterwards lord Torrington, was president. Such a respectable authority makes me cautious of insisting on my own opinion. This new order for the ordnance, without any considerable increase in the size of our ships, which, indeed, could not have been of much consequence in two years, (for by a list of our navy, in my hands in 1714, I find the navy consisted very nearly of those given in 1709,) this new regulation, I say, directs the first-rates to carry guns of 42 or 32lb. ball on the lower; 24lb. on the middle deck; and 12lb. on the main deck. The old calibres are retained for the ninety gun ships, but those of eighty were to have 32lb^{rs} on the lower deck instead of 24lb^{rs}; the seventy-gun ships were to carry 12lb^{rs} instead of 9lb^{rs} on the upper deck; the sixties to carry 24lb^{rs} on the lower deck instead of 18lb^{rs}; and the fifty gun ships 18lb^{rs} on the lower deck instead of 12lb^{rs}; and 9lb^{rs} instead of 6lb^{rs} on the upper deck; and the forties, instead of 9lb^{rs} on the lower, were to carry 12lb^{rs}; a most amazing increase in the size of the guns, with scarcely any in that of the ships.

A long peace made us inattentive to the farther improvement of the navy. We idly imagined the neighbouring powers had been as remiss as ourselves; and that our own navy, still equal to what it had been, was still as able to combat theirs as ever. But the action that took place in the Mediterranean in 1742, when Mathews and Lestock commanded our fleet, convinced us of our error. In that memorable engagement, we supposed, by having a greater number of ships, that we had also an acknowledged superiority of force; but we saw with surprize how active our enemies had been, and what advantage they had taken of our indolence; for, our admirals, from the inferior size of those ships, were
obliged

obliged to order all our fifty-gun ships out of the line, though eleven in number, and always deemed ships of the line, and taking their station, as such in all engagements, and placed them among the frigates; nay, the very sixty-gun ships, many of which were not much above 900 tons, were very poorly equal to such honourable service, being not bigger than some of our present frigates of thirty-six guns, which are about 940 tons.

Soon after this we had the good fortune to capture the *Princessa*, a Spanish ship of seventy guns, and above 1700 tons, at a time when our own *three seventy-gun ships* that took her were under 1100 tons each. Our eyes were then opened; and we found it necessary to increase the size of our ships and guns, if we wished to meet the enemy on equal terms. This was done, though very inadequately every way, by a new establishment in 1745; which I beg leave to insert here, as it will furnish matter for some other observations.

Establishment in 1745.—Number of Guns		100	90	80	70	60	50	44	24
Keel for Tonnage	- -	144,6	138,4	134,6	131,4	123	117,8	108,10	93,4
Extream Length of Keel	- -	178,1	170	165	160	150	144	133	113
Extreme Breadth	- -	51	48,6	47	45	43,8	41	37,6	32
Depth in Hold	- -	21,6	20,6	20	19,4	18,6	17,8	16	11
Draft of water	{ afore - -	22,3	21,1	20,4	19,4	18,3	17,0	16	12
	{ abaft - -	23,5	22,3	21,6	20,6	19,5	18,4	17,2	14
Height of the lower cell of the gun-deck ports in Midships		- -	5,3	5,3	5,4	5,4	5,11	5,1	5,2
Gun-ports in Tons	- -	2000	1730	1585	1414	1191	1052	814	508

Considerable as this increase in the size seemed to be, it was soon seen that our vessels were too small to bear the guns with which they were overloaded. The same error that occurred in the

the establishment made by Byng was repeated. Our first-rates were ordered to carry 42lb^{ers} which seemed to have been optional only by him, on the lower deck ; the nineties to carry 12lb^{ers} upon the upper deck instead of 9lb^{ers} ; the eighties to carry 18lb^{ers} and 9lb^{ers} on the middle and upper deck instead of 12lb^{ers} and 6lb^{ers} ; the seventies (a great rise indeed, as they were only about 200 tons each bigger than the former establishment) to carry 32lb^{ers} and 18lb^{ers} on the lower and upper deck, instead of 24lb^{ers} and 12lb^{ers} ; the sixties to carry 24lb^{ers}, and 12lb^{ers} instead of 24lb^{ers} and 9lb^{ers}. These, perhaps, they could bear, but the fifties were certainly too much loaded, as they were to carry 24lb^{ers} and 12lb^{ers} instead of 18lb^{ers} and 9lb^{ers}. The forties are more equal to the calibre of their guns ; for though not much more than 100 tons less than the fifties, they carry only 18lb^{ers} and 9lb^{ers}. The ships, therefore, built by this establishment, proved, in general, very crank, and bad sea-boats. They have been gradually much enlarged since.

Sir Walter Raleigh recommended that the ships should carry their midship guns four feet from the water. We have now improved, by the above table, what he seemed to think was sufficient ; for even our three-deckers carry them fifteen inches higher, and our two-deckers, except the forties, about twenty inches higher out of the water. Perhaps this would be sufficient, if we could depend on their truth in *practice* ; but that is not the case, for, our present Victory, although such an excellent ship in every other respect, carries those guns only about four feet six inches, being nine inches less than the calculation from her draft should give her. These nine inches are material, not only by disabling her *often* from using her lower-deck guns ; but, by immersing that quantity of her body in the water, must *permanently* affect her sailing and working.

As

As we continued to take, both from the French and Spaniards, a great many ships, we found that we were still very short of the magnitudes to which they had increased theirs. We found that the weight of our guns was too great, and that we must either lessen their calibres, or build ships more able to carry them. To meet our enemy on equal terms, we could not do the former; the latter hath therefore been chosen: for, it was ridiculous, surely, to put, on-board vessels of 1414 tons, calibres, that the French and Spaniards employed in vessels of above 1700 tons.

It is possible, however, to exceed the limits that experience seems to tell us should be observed in the calibre of our guns for sea service; for we may be assured, that all weight above water, that is not strictly useful, is detrimental to the ship, and injurious to the service. This was, perhaps, the case of our 42lb^{ers}; they were unmanageable guns, and loaded the vessel unnecessarily; for a calibre of 32lb. could be loaded and fired, at least thrice as soon as that of 42lb. could twice. These reflections induced the late lord Keppel to confine himself to 32lb^{ers} on board the Victory, and to establish it generally through the navy. This calibre is surely equal to any service at sea; 24lb^{ers} are almost the only calibres employed in the land service. The sides of a ship are not stronger than stone walls; and the force that can demolish and reduce them to a mere heap of rubbish must be very sufficient to batter the sides of any ship whatever. The admiral seemed to hope that by this reduction of the lower-deck guns he could have substituted 32lb^{ers} on the middle deck instead of 24lb^{ers}; but they were found too heavy on trial; and he was contented to preserve the old calibres in that as well as in the upper deck; but, instead of the 6lb^{ers} on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, he placed 12lb^{ers}. It would take some time to calculate whether this addition

addition of weight, so high out of the water, would not over-balance the advantage gained by the reduction below. Perhaps, it would have been a more eligible trial whether the same ship could not have supported 18lb^m on the upper deck instead of 12lb^m especially if the guns on that deck had been of *brass*, in which case the difference would not have been very great. It certainly would be worth the trial if the attempt was made with the two first-rates now building, the *Ville de Paris*, and the *Hibernia*; which being almost 200 tons bigger than the *Victory*, might succeed with more real advantage than the addition of ten smaller guns now intended for them, especially if the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-castle were reduced to 9lb^m or even 6lb^m the old calibres on those decks, instead of the 12lb^m now allotted to them. As the chief use of those smaller guns is to cut and destroy the rigging, they might be found as efficient for those purposes as the 12lb^m. The only farther improvement (if I am not guilty of presumption in proposing it) is to add to the importance of our second rates by introducing 24lb^m on their middle deck instead of 18lb^m. It is plain, from what I have said, that I am not a friend to overloading a ship with guns; but I really think this addition may be made with perfect safety to those ships; for our present second rates are vessels of above 2000 tons. The old *Britannia* and *Royal Sovereign* were under 1900 tons; and even the *Royal George*, so unfortunately sunk at Portsmouth, was only 2045. These ships carried 42lb^m, 24lb^m and 12lb^m. Surely the trial may be made, therefore, with ships of the same size, carrying ten guns less. I should hope to see the fifty-gun ships either made bigger, or the calibre of their guns made less; for I must be allowed to think them too small for the latter at present. The Surveyor of the Navy, sensible that the one or the other must be done, seems

inclined to recommend the reduction of the calibre, by employing guns only of 18lb^m on the lower deck; as the French continue to employ guns of 24lb. and 12lb. only in their sixty-four gun ships, I should rather, (with great deference I say it) wish the ships were enlarged, and made fit to carry the guns which they have now done for almost fifty years, though with inconveniency. The fifty-gun ships have always been line of battle ships, and still take their stations in that service *occasionally*. In our distant services, they are very able to cope with a very large proportion of the ships used by our enemies, both French and Spaniards, and take a much less number of men; an article of the greatest importance at a time when our other line-of-battle ships are so much enlarged, and want so many. I think it may be noted here (though it might have been done with more propriety sooner) that we have lessened our proportion of men for the respective tonnages of our ships considerably. In the earlier parts of our service their number was generally one half the tonnage; it is now, and hath long been, only about one-third.

Much hath been done, and our ancestors would be surprized at the several improvements that have been made in our navy. Perhaps all hath not been done that would accomplish it; but the bigotry of old practice opposes every thing that looks like *innovation*. I do not recommend the adoption of every new whim; it is only from *experiment* that I wish to see the adoption taken; but even experience is sometimes too weak to combat old prejudices. Speculative men may propose, but till trials have been made of the *utility* and *practicability* of what they propose, it is wisdom not to receive them. Du Hamel, in his excellent treatise "Sur la Corderie", hath given a remarkable instance of this strong opposition, even to experiment. This old philosopher, on very
philos-

philosophical principles, imagined, that in the common practice of twisting cordage away one third, viz. 180 fathoms to 120, in the instance of cables, &c. the cordage was only weakened by this extraordinary tension, many of the strains being broken by it, a great consumption of hemp incurred, a greater weight added to it aloft, and a greater difficulty occasioned in passing through the pulleys by the hardness of the twisted body. Under these convictions, he proposed to the French government about 1740, to fit out some frigates, with all the cordage employed on one side of them twisted according to the old practice, while the cordage employed on the other side of them should be twisted away *only* one fourth, according to his ideas of it. Thus differently fitted out, they were sent one to Cape Breton, another to Martinico, where they remained some time. On their return to Brest and Toulon, in the presence of the officers of those yards, and many able seamen, the state of the two cordages was minutely examined. The report was strongly in favour of Du Hamel's cordage. Strong as this report was in favour of Du Hamel's method, it has never been adopted in the French service, which *almost* inclines me to suspect some want of candour in Du Hamel. However, after such a solemn, and, seemingly, a fair trial, both in a Southern and a Northern climate, it offers such advantages as to make it worth a trial in England; and I have reason to think it will be made here.

Another improvement seems to be taking place. We have been fond of increasing the number of our guns. This hath induced us to give one gun more on the middle and upper decks than on the lower deck, without reflecting that this advantage was gained by placing the additional gun on a false bearing, where it could have no strength from the keel, as the lower-deck guns had. By thus loading the two extremities

(for, the same error, if it is one, was practised abaft likewise), the pressure became violent on the two ends of the keel, and produced in time what the seamen call a hog-back, or a considerable rising in the middle, and a depression at the two extremities of the keel. Few of our ships, that have been built any time, escape this evil. That excellent ship, the *Victory*, particularly labours under it. It hath been now corrected, as my excellent friend, the present surveyor of the navy, assures me, in the new *Royal George*.

The size of our ships seems now to have reached nearly its ultimatum; for, nature herself, in some measure, fixes its limits. It is *man* who is to navigate and manage them; and, unless our bodily strength could be increased likewise; every manœuvre on-board them must be conducted with difficulty and delay. For, though the mechanic powers are almost boundless, the application of them, for the purposes of navigation, is more confined. The cordage, when made larger, will be rendered difficult to pass through the pulleys, and so large, at last, as not to pass at all. Timber, the growth of nature, as much as man, cannot be made to grow larger; and the very element (in harbours at least), in which they are to navigate, hath only certain depths that cannot be increased. And let it be remembered, as a certain axiom in mechanics, that what we gain in *power* we must be contented to lose in *time*. Every operation on-board will therefore become laborious, dilatory, and even uncertain.

The French, indeed, have latterly built a ship of a most extraordinary size; 172 feet keel for tonnage, by fifty-five feet, nine inches, by the beam, tonnage about 2850 tons; but she is pronounced to be entirely unfit for service, and hath never been out of harbour; and the Spaniards are said (and that by such a respectable authority as that of the Marquis del Campo)

Campo) to have built one still larger ; but the Spaniards, on sending this unwieldy monster to sea, found that she must have been lost, if they had not had the precaution to send out two other ships with her, which towed and brought her back again.

The art and industry of man hath been sufficiently evinced, in having traced this gradual progress from the first simple raft, or a few logs of wood tied together to pass a *single* man over some inconsiderable river, up to our present first-rates of above 2300 tons, able to carry eleven or twelve thousand men, with every accommodation, and a numerous and heavy artillery, across a turbulent, tempestuous ocean, for many months.

Among the many exertions of human wisdom, few equal, none surpass, the skill and knowledge that have been displayed in the whole business of navigation.

If our ships should be made a great deal larger, they might answer the purpose of parade and vanity, as in the cases of the two ships built by the French and Spaniards, and I think it may be fairly added, of the memorable *Quadráginta Remes* of antiquity.

Our first-rates now are above 2300 tons ; our second-rates above 2000 ; and one of them even 2100 tons ; our eighties from 1900 to 2000 tons ; our seventies from 1700 to upwards of 1800 tons ; and our sixty-fours of above 1400 ; with calibre of guns that they now can bear very well.

But this gradual progress cannot be better ascertained than by giving the states of our navy through the different periods I have mentioned. Henry the Eighth left a navy of 10550 tons, consisting of seventy-one vessels, whereof thirty were ships of burthen. Edward the Sixth had fifty-three ships, containing 11005 tons, whereof only twenty-eight were above
eighty

eighty tons. Queen Mary had only forty-six of all sorts. Queen Elizabeth's consisted of 17,030 tons, whereof thirty ships were of 200 tons and upwards.

The pacific reign of James the First is not more brilliant in the ships than, perhaps, in the other parts of it, having added only 1596 tons to the navy, left by Elizabeth. Of both these only eighteen were ships of 200 tons and upwards. Charles the First added only nine ships, besides the *Royal Sovereign*. But, in giving this last, he did great service to the navy, by increasing the size as well as improving the form of building them. Charles the Second, in 1684, enlarged the number as well as the size of them to 100,385 tons; one hundred sail of them of the line. In 1697 it was increased to 168,224 tons, 121 line of battle. At the end of Anne it was 147,830 tons, 131 line of battle; in 1730, 160,275 tons, 126 line of battle; at the end of 1745, 165,635 tons; but, at the end of 1782, when the American war ended, during which Great Britain had the united naval force of France, Spain, Holland, and the American States, to contend with, and did it with honour and success, the exertion was indeed extraordinary; for, our navy consisted of 491,709 tons, 615 vessels, whereof 164 were of the line, although they had increased nearly to their present magnitude.

Answerable to this increase of the ships was the number of our seamen; for, instead of 40,000, the usual allotment voted for the navy, during the reign of queen Anne, and long afterwards, the astonishing number of 95,000, were frequently borne and employed on-board it during the heat of the American war; and yet we found that the merchant-service was not materially hurt by that excessive number for the naval service. Our insular situation naturally disposes us to trade. Exposed to no invasion but what must be made from the sea,

we saw our country destroyed by a set of daring rovers, for want of a sea force to repel them. As soon as our wiser princes, in the early parts of our history, had provided this protection, the Normans, Danes, &c. ceased to disturb our tranquillity.

We have still no danger to dread but what must come to us by that element, from which our navy alone can secure us. Our navy must depend upon our commerce. Thus united, borrowing and giving strength to each other, I hope all the future accounts of our navy will long continue to give the same satisfaction to a good Englishman that the present flourishing state of it affords us.

R. WILLETT.

XIX. *The Rates of Wages of Servants, Labourers, and Artificers, set down and assessed at Okeham, within the County of Rutland, by the Justices of Peace there, the 28th Day of April, Anno Domini 1610. Communicated by Thomas Barker, Esq. of Lyndon.*

Read Nov. 10, 1791.

MAN SERVANTS.

IMPRIMIS, a bailife of husbandry having charge of 2 plowland at the least, his wages per annum - - - - - 1ij s.

A man servant, for husbandrie of the best fort, which can eire, sow, mow, thresh, make a ricke, thacke, and hedge the same; and can kill a hog, sheepe, and calfe; his wages per annum - - - - - 1 s.

A common servant of husbandrie, which can mow, and cannot expertly make a ricke and thacke it, nor kill and dresse a hog, sheepe, and calfe; his wages per annum - - - - - xl s.

A meane servant, which can drive plow, pitch cart, and thresh, but cannot expertly sow and mow; his wages per annum - - - - - xxix s.

A man child under the age of xvi years; his wages per annum - - - - - xx s.

WOMEN

WOMEN SERVANTS, THEIR WAGES.

Imprimis, a chiefe woman servant being a cooke, and can bake, brue, and make malt, and able to oversee other servants ; her wages per annum - - - xxvj s. viij d.

A second woman servant of the best sort, which cannot dresse meate, nor make malt, but brue, &c. her wages per annum - - - xxij s. iiij d.

A mean or simple woman servant, which can do but out-workes and drudgery ; her wages per annum - - - xvj s.

A woman child under the age of xvj yeares ; her wages per annum - - - xiiij s.

MILLERS WAGES.

A chiefe miller which can expertly beat, lay, grinde, and governe his mill ; his wages per annum - - - xlvj s.

A common miller, which cannot beat and lay, but grind only ; his wages per annum - - - xxxj s. viij d.

SHEPHERDS WAGES.

A chief shepherd which is skilful in the ordering of his cattle winter and summer - - - 10s.

A common shepherd ; his wages per annum - - - 25s.

WAGES FOR MOWERS AND HARVEST FOLK.

			<i>With Meat. d.</i>	<i>Without Meat. d.</i>
A mower by the day	-	-	5	10
A man reaper	-	-	4	8
A woman reaper	-	-	3	6
A man hay-maker	-	-	4	8
A woman hay-maker	-	-	2	5
A follower of scythes	-	-	3	6
A raker of barley and pease	-	-	3	6
A hedger	-	-	4	8
A ditcher	-	-	4	8
Every other labourer not before set down (harvest excepted) shall have from Easter till Michaelmas				
	-	-	3	7
And afterward every such labourer shall have from Michaelmas to Easter				
	-	-	2	6

*Wages for Artificers and their Apprentices, from
Easter to Michaelmas, and from Michaelmas to
Easter, as followeth :*

Imprimis, a chief joiner by the day before Michaelmas				
	-	-	6	12
And from Michaelmas to Easter				
	-	-	4	8
A joiner's apprentice which hath not served four years, his wages before Michaelmas				
			4	8
His wages from Michaelmas to Easter				
			3	6
A master sawyer by the day, before Michael- mas				
	-	-	6	12
		after Michaelmas	4	8

A plow-

		<i>With Meat. d.</i>	<i>Without Meat. d.</i>
A plow-wright,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A thatcher,	before Michaelmas	5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A hurdle-maker,	before Michaelmas	5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A horse collar-maker,	before Michaelmas	6	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A free mason which can draw his plot, work, and set accordingly, having charge over others,	before Michaelmas	8	12
	after Michaelmas	6	10
A rough mason which can take charge over others,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A master carpenter, being able to draw his plot, and to be master of work over others,	before Michaelmas	8	14
	after Michaelmas	6	10
An expert carpenter,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A carpenter's 'prentice which hath not been 'prentice four years,	before Michaelmas	3	7
	after Michaelmas	2	6
A bricklayer from Easter to Michaelmas		5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A bricklayer's 'prentice	before Michaelmas	3	7
	after Michaelmas	2	6
A tyler or flater,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
D d 2			A tyler

	<i>With Meat. d.</i>	<i>Without Meat. d.</i>
A tyler or slater's 'prentice before Michaelmas	3	7
after Michaelmas	2	6
A turner - - -	6	12
A gardener - - -	6	12
A taylor - - -	4	8

It appears, by the high constable's catalogues of persons hired at the statutes from 1626 to 1634, that the rate of servants above set down was then complied with.

It appears by many old papers, that in the time of James I. and Charles I. an assessment was made upon the country for provision for the king's household. Whether this was one of the shifts when they would not call a parliament, or whether it had been an older custom, I do not know; but I meet with it from 1622 to 1636.

COPY OF THE ORDER.

To the high constables of the hundred of Martinsley, in the county of Rutland, and to ei. (*either*) of them.

These are in his majesty's name, by virtue of his highness commission to me directed, straightly to will and require you, and every of you, all excuses set apart, that presently upon sight hereof, you leavey and gather up within your said hundred and the liberties thereof, capons xii, chickens xii dozen, good, large, and serviceable, for his majesties most honourable household; and also one bushel of barley or oats for pullen corn. And that you cause the said service of poultry to be brought safe in baskets, with their legs untied, and good store of straw under them for bruising, to the sign of the Falcon, in Uppingham, on Monday the xith day of August, by eight of the clock in the morning. And that one of you be there

there present, as well to see the service discharged, as also to see the county discharged thereof. Fail you not, as you tender his majesties service, and will answer the contrary at your perils. Dated the iiij of August 1628.

By me EDW. DICKINSONE,
His majesties Yeoman Purveyor for Poultry.

In consequence of which the high constable sent

AN ORDER TO THE PETTY CONSTABLES.

To the constables of Wing, or either of them :

These are, in his majesties name, to will and require you to gather up in your town one capon and fifteen chickens, good, large, and serviceable, for his majesties most honourable household ; and also one peck of barley or oats for pullen corn. And that you bring them safe in baskets, with their legs untied, and store of straw under them, to the sign of the Falcon, in Uppingham, on Monday the eleventh day of August, by eight of the clock in the morning. Herein fail not at your peril.

ABEL BARKER,
Hambleton, August the 7th, 1628.

Other like orders there are for oats, hay, and straw, and butter.

These seem to express a rate paid in kind ; but sometimes it was compounded for in money, as in the following order.

To the chief constables of the hundred of Martinsley, or to either of them, greeting :

These are in his majesties name to require you, to give warning to the constables of the towns and parishes in your hundred.

hundred, to collect in their several parishes the several summes underwritten, imposed for the provision for his majesties most honourable household for this present year, and to pay the same to Abel Barker, of Hambleton, gentleman, with whom we have agreed to receive the said sums, and discharge the said service, at or before the tenth day of January next coming. And, if any refuse to pay, that they then certifie, under their hands, the names of the persons so refusing, that such order may be taken with them as heretofore in like cases hath been used. Herein fail not at your peril. Given under our hands the 20th day of December 1684.

Uppingham ls.	Lindin, xxxii s.
Preston Underwood, viiis.	Breaches, vi s.
Beamont Closes, v s. iiij d.	Normanton, x s.
Park Dales, vi s. viii d.	The Inclosure, xiii s. iiij d.
Aston, xxv s.	Hambleton, iiij lb.
Debdale, vi s. viii d.	Little Hambleton, xl s.
New Inclosure, xx s.	Linder Meadows, ii s.
Preston, l s.	Haunt and Closes under the
Hall Close, vis. viii d.	wood, i s. iiij d.
Wing, l s.	Martinthorp, v lb.
The Inclosure, iii s. iiij d.	Sheep walk in the forest, xlv s.
Manton, liij s.	Ridlington, xxxii s.
Weston, xxxiiij s.	Old Inclosure, xxiiij s.
Wichley, and Closes under	New Inclosure, xiii s. iiij d.
the town, xxiii s. iiij d.	Hollogate Closes, ii s.

CAMPDEN,
EDWARD HARRINGTON,
HENRY MACKWORTH.

This also was sent from the high constables to their petty constables, by an order similar to the following :

To

To the constables of Hambleton, or either of them :

By virtue of a warrant, to me directed, from his majesties justices of this county, these are therefore in his majesties name to require and charge you, or either of you, that you levy and gather within your town and parish the sum of ii lb. xii s. vi d. imposed upon your said town ; as also liij s. i d. ob. for little Hambleton, for the composition provision of his majesties most honourable household for this present year, ended the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary next, and that you pay over the said sums unto John Butler, of Okeham, gentleman, at or before the first day of November next, who is appointed receiver of the same. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer it at your perils. Dated at Manton, this first of 1629. WM. CHISSELDYNE.

But that the provision was sometimes paid in kind, seems to appear by the following agreement :

Articles of agreement made the first of February 1635, between John Barker, of Hambleton, gentleman, and Richard Jacobb, of Westminster, butcher.

Imprimis, Whereas John Barker is to serve into the king's majesties house two hundred sheep, for the county of Rutland. Now Richard Jacobb, in consideration of 95 lb. doth covenant that he will deliver into the king majesties house one hundred serviceable sheep, at or before the 4th of February ; and one hundred more at or before the 20th day after Easter.

Item, Richard Jacobb will deliver to John Barker, at or before the 18th February, a discharge for the first hundred sheep. And, at or before the 25th of May, a discharge for the last hundred.

John Barker doth covenant, that he shall pay unto Richard Jacobb 90 lb. at or before the 23d of April. And Richard Jacobb shall receive the king's price, viz. for the first hundred 6s. upon every sheep, and for the last hundred 7s.

Warr.

Warr. Sb.

The Rates of Wages of all Manner of Artificers, Labourers, and Servants, as well by the Day, with Meat and Drinke, and without; as also by the whole Yeare, limited, rated, and appointed, by the Generall Quarter-Sessions of the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, holden att Warwick, in and for the County aforesaide, uppon Tuesday next, after the Close of Easter, in the Six and Thirtiethe Yare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith: and by his Maiessty's Iustices of the Peace there assembled, whose Hands and Seals are hereunto putt, accordinge to the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, in such Case made and provided, having a special Regard and Consideration to the Prices at this Time of Victuals and Apparell, and all other Circumstances necessary to be considered. From the Original in the Possession of Mr. John Nichols, Printer.

		<i>By the Day.</i>	
	<i>With Meat and Drinke.</i>	<i>Without.</i>	
	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Free mason	-	6	1 4
A master brick mason	-	6	1 0
Their servants and apprentices above the age of eighteen	-	4	0 8
			A master

	<i>With Meat and Drink.</i>	<i>By the Day.</i>	
		<i>d.</i>	<i>Without.</i> <i>s. d.</i>
A master carpenter, his charge	6		1 0
Their servants and journeymen above the age of eighteen - - -	6		1 0
Their servants and apprentices - - -	4		0 8
A plowright and cartwright - - -	6		1 0
A master bricke layer - - -	6		1 0
A tyler, plaister, and shingler, - - -	6		1 0
A master plaisterer - - - - -	4		0 8
Their servants and apprentices above the age of twelve years - - -	3		0 6
A master thatcher - - - - -	6		1 0
His servant - - - - -	4		0 8
Fellers of wood, threshers, and all other com- mon labourers ; the time of haruest ex- cepted - - - - -	4		0 8
The man hay-maker - - - - -	4		0 8
The woman hay-maker - - - - -	2		0 4
Wedges of corne - - - - -	2		0 4
Mowers of corne and grass - - - - -	6		1 0
A raker in corn harvest - - - - -	3		0 6
The man reaper - - - - -	6		1 0
The woman reaper - - - - -	4		0 8

From the middle of September to the middle of March,
one penny by the day to be abated of the wages before speci-
fied.

	<i>By the whole Year.</i>		
	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The bayliffe of husbandry taking charge, and able to discharge the same - - -	04	10	00
A chiefe hind, the best plowman and carter	05	15	00

		<i>By the whole Year.</i>		
		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Shepard performing his charge	-	05	00	00
Inferior servant man	-	02	10	00
The woman servant y ^t is able to manage a house-				
holde	-	01	15	00
A second woman servant	-	01	06	08
A dayry-maide, or wash-maide	-	01	10	00

It is observed by the statute made in the fifth yeare of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Chapter the Fourth, these followinge rules are enacted (that is to say) :

“ That refusors to serve for the wages appointed are to be imprisoned.

“ That all artificers and labourers, being hired by the day or week, shall, betwixt the midel of the months of March and September, be, and continue, at their work, att or before five of the clocke in the morning, and continue att worke, and not depart vntill betwixt seven and eight of the clocke att night, except it be in the times of breakfast, dinner, or drinkinge ; the which times att the most shall not excede above two houres and an halfe in the day, that is to say, att euery drinkinge an halfe hour ; for his dinner an hour ; and for his sleepe, when he is allowed to sleepe, the which is from the midst of May to the midst of August, halfe and houre att the moste ; and at every breakfast an halfe houre ; and all the faide artificers and labourers, betweene the midst of September and the midst of March, shall be, and continue att their worke from the springe of the day in the morninge, untill the night of the same day, except it be in the time above appointed for breakfast and dinner uppon to loofe and forfeit on penny for every hour's absence ; to be deducted and dealt out of his wages that shall soo offend.

“ That

“ That euery perfon giuinge aboue the wages appointed, shall suffer ten days imprifonment, and forfeit fiue pounds.

“ That every perfon takinge aboue the wages appointed, shall suffer on and twenty days imprifonment.

“ That every retainer, promife, gift, and payment of wages contrary to the statutes, is vtterly voide, and of none effect.

SIGNED,

JOHN MORDAUNT,

CHARLES HELT,

JOHN CLOPTON

REGINALD HORSTER,

EDWARD HINTON,

BAZIL FIELDINGE,

CHARLES HOWSHAM,

THOMAS CLARKE.

XX. *Communicated by T. W. Wrighte, M. A. Secretary.
From the Papers bequeathed to the Society of Antiqua-
ries of London. By the late John Thorpe, Esq.
M. A. and F. S. A.*

Read Nov. 15, 22, 29, and Dec. 6, 1792.

[a] A briefe discourse declaringe how
honorablen and profitable to youre most
excellēt maiestie, and howe necessary
and comodious for your realme, the
making of Douer Haven shalbe,
and in what sorte, wth
leaste charge in
greateste per-
fection, the
same maye be accom-
plyshed.

THERE is not one thinge, moste renowned foueraigne,
of greater necessitie (to maynteyne the honor and safetie
of this your ma^{ty} realme), then by all convenient means to en-

[a] This "briefe discourse," addressed to her most excellent majesty queen Elizabeth, was written, probably about the year 1582, by that most excellent mathematician of his time, and skilful engineer, "Thomas Digges, Esquire, sonne and
" heyre of Leonard Digges, of Wotton, in the county of Kent, Esquire, and of
" Bridget his wife, daughter to Thomas Wilford, Esquire, which Thomas de-
" ceased the 24th day of August, Ann. Dom. 1595." Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720, B. iii. vol. I. p. 71, 72. For a more particular account of the life of this eminent person, see Wood's Athen. and the Biograph. Britannica.

crease

crease Navigation, Shipping and Maryners. These beyng a strength in tyme of warre, and in tyme of peace, members moſte profitable and commodious. But theſe can nether be had, increaſed, nor maynteyned, if firſt ſure harboroughes be not provided as ſafe Receptacles to receiue and garde them from ſtormes, enemyes, &c.

This hath moved that induſtryous nation of the lowe Countries in Holland, Zealand, and Flaunders [*b*], where, by reaſon of there ſandy coaſt, though God hadd ſcarcely in anye place allowed them eny good havens naturall, yet ſeynge the neceſſitie and commoditie of harboroughes have, without regard of eny charges or travell, with infinite expences, made many havens artificiall, even in ſuche places as nature almoſte denied them all hope of helpe. Whereby wee ſee they have drawne ſuche entercorſe and trafique both of forreyn nations for marchundize, and alſo by there induſtrye for fyſhing, that in fewe years, even almoſte in our adge, thay have byn able to build a number of moſte ſumptuouſe, riche, and bewtyfull citties, furnyſhed there coaſtes with great number of Shippes and Maryners, and were become the moſte populous and ritche natyon that the ſoon did thine upon. And not only the ſeacoaſte, butt alſoe the inlandes and contreys, by quicke vente of there commodities, doe participate of the ſame benefite and felicitie. And ſuche there charges on havens and harboroughes beſtowed, doe yeeld them the fruyte of ritches, welth, and commoditie, moſte plentifullye throughout ther hole domynions. But contrarywyſe with us this laſte parlyament, lamentable relation hath byn made of

[*b*] "When Queen Elizabeth ſent ſome of her forces to the aſſiſtance of the
" oppreſſed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr. Digges was appointed Maſter-
" maſter-general of them, whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly
" ſkilled in military affairs, &c." Biograph. Brit.

the greate decaye of maryners and fisshermen, to the nom^b of manye hundred sailes upon our coastes of England, even in this adge, and within memorie. And also of the presente poverty, and desolate habitacon of manye fruntier townes.

Wherby y^t plainly appearith, that as y^e excessive expences of the Lowe Countreis bestowed in havens, hathe not ympouerished, but cleane contrary greatly enriched them with incomperable wealth and treasure, with number of riche, faire, and populous townes. Soe our sparinge myndes, or rather greedy gettinge, gayninge, and encroching land from your ma^{te} havens, and navigable chanells hath utterly destroyed and spoiled manye good havens by nature lefte us: and thereby wrought very beggery, mysery and desolation in these your fruntier townes.

And yf wee seache the very cause of y^e flourishing estate of London, which allmoste alone in quantitie, people, and wealth in this adge and Realme, ys so encreased: And contrarywyse of y^e pou^rty or rather beggerye and decaye of Wynchelsey, Rye, Roomney, Hide, Douer, and manye other pore townes, wee shall fynde the decaye of those havens, and preferuacon of the Temes, the onlye or chieffe occasyon.

Hereby sufficiently appearith how incomperable juells havens and sure harboroughes are, for the gayninge, maynteyninge, and encreasinge people, wealthe, and comodity in anye Realme. And noe lesse strengthe and securitie doe they bringe in tyme of warre, as well by the multitude of maryners (a moste seruyceable people) and shippinge which they breede, as also by inhabitacōn of the Fruntiers.

But in the whole circuyte of this youre ma^{te} famousse Ilande, there is not enye one, ether in respecte of securitie and defence, or of trafique and entercourse more conveniente, needefull, or rather of necessitie to be regarded then this of Douer, scituate
upon

upon a Promontorye, nexte fruntinge a puyssante forreyn kinge, and in the verye straighte passadge and entercourse of allmoste all the Shippinge of Christendom.

And yf that our renowned kinge, your ma^t father, of famous memorye Henrye 8th, in his tyme founde howe necessary yt was to make a haven at Douer, (when Sandwich, Rye, Camber, and others were good havens, and Calleis allsoe then in his possessyon) and yet spared not to bestowe of his owne treasure so great a masse in buildinge of that Peere [c], which then seemed a probable meane to performe the same, howe muche more is the same nowe needefull or rather of necessitie, those good havens being extreemely decaied and noe safe harborough lefte in all the coaste allmoste betwene Portesmouth and Yermowthe; feynge the same allso may be performed without expence of your ma^t pryvate treasure; The presente guyfte of the parlyam^t considered, and there ready willes so plainly discovered to supply whatfoeuer charge shalbe needefull: whensoever by your gratiouse providence thay shall see the Realme armed with suche a shield, and endowed with so greate a juell.

*The Commodities that thereby bothe to your
maiestie and Realme shall ensue.*

Fyrste a place of refuge and savegard to all marchantes your ma^t Subiectes passing from London, and all other the East and N. Easte partes of England, to Fraunce, Spayne, Barbery, Levante, the Ilandes or other parts South or Weste of the world; for wante of harboroughe at Douer, either goinge furth, or returninge, shalbe enforced to ride yt

"[c] King Henry VIII. expended 65000l. upon a pier to restore the haven, but in vain." Historical Description of a second ancient Picture in Windsor Castle, by John Topham Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 147. Camden's Britannia, ed. 1789. vol. I. p. 120. Harris's Hist. Kent, p. 103.

out in open Rodes to the' greate perrill : or in tyme of warres for want of suche succo' to throwe themselves on the contrary coaste into the armes of there enemyes.

For all other strangers your maⁿ friends that passe the Seas from Hamborough, Danske, Lubicke, Emden, Scotland, Denmarke, or anye partes of the Lowe Contries to eny partes of the world South and S. Weste, whereof there are dailie greate numbers, or of Spayne, Portugall, Fraunce, or Italy, bounde Northwarde, ether to London, or to enye of these Northren provinces, bothe passing and repassing they must of necessitie touch as it were upon this Promontorye, and upon enye chandge of wynde, or feare of enemy for a sure refuge, will moſte willingly and thankfully ymbrace so sweete and safe a Centuarye.

Noe Promontorye, towne or haven of Christendom ys so placed by nature and scituacion, bothe to gratyfie freindes, and annoye Enemyes, as this your maⁿ towne of Dover.

Noe place or towne of Christendom foe ſetled to receave and deliver intelligens for all mires and actions in Europe from tyme to tyme.

Noe towne of all the Lowe Contreis, (although by there industrie they have manye exceſſiue populouſe, faire and riche) by nature so ſetled ether to allure entercourſe by ſea, or to trayne inhabitants by lande, to make it great, fayre, riche, and populouſe.

For alluringe entercourſe by ſea there is ſufficient ſayd allreadye.

By lande yt hath a better ayre and water, twoe chief elements, thon all the ritch townes in Holland and Zealande.

For ſier, the contrey rounde about farr better woodded then thiers, and the whole ſheere wherin yt ſtandeth, and round about y^e very Town it ſelf ſo well ſorted for errable and
pasture

pasture of all sortes, for marſhe and medowe ſo well furniſhed as harte of man cannot wiſh or deſier yt better.

A Quarrie of ſtoane at hand, ſufficiente to build both towne and haven, in moſte ſufficient, large, and bewtyfull maner: There wanteth nothing by lande, ſea, or ayer, yt can be wiſhed. And if thoſe induſtrious people of the Lowe Countreis had, in all theſe provinces, ſutche a Seate, with like commodities, they would make it a Spectacle to the whole world, without reſpecte of charges whatſoever.

There wanteth nothinge but an Harböroughe, which made, all other partes of peoplinge, wealth and ſtrengthe, will followe of itſelf.

There wilbe ſhortly after ſuch encrease of Nauigation, as wee ſhalbe able to take for our owne hearrings yeerly, thoſe millions which y^e Flemings by our ſlouth, have for manye yeares whole converted to themſelves, as appearith by *Guicciardyne*, that fiſhing only beinge none of the leaſte foundations of all there prowde townes.

A mervelouſe number of our poore people, both by theſe woorkes, till the haven bee made, and afterwards by the ſhippinge, fiſhing &c. wilbe ymployed, who nowe for wante of worke are whipped, marked, and hanged.

The quicke utterance of commodities, which allwayes followeth by encrease of entercouſe, will cauſe all the coaſte and ſheere to bee notably manured, and peopled, not withe poore idle, but withe paynefull induſtryous rich perſonns: a greate ornamente and commodity in peace, and ſure defence in warre, the ſame beinge the fruntier neareſte coaſte.

The encrease of navigation, fiſhing, and trafique, that heereby will growe, and the great wealth and commodity hereof ariſing, will not be conteyned within one ſheere alone, but powred furth into all partes of this Realme, to the greate

reliefe of the poore, and contentacon of all degrees, encreasing of artes and occupacons; a pattern whereof wee may behould even in our nexte neighbours the Lowe Contreys, not fained in ymagination, but actuallye by them put in exequution: And greate shame it were for us to dispaire attayninge that which wee see others, our neighbours, have atchieued before us.

As the whole Realme ingenerall, foe youre maiesty allsoe in respecte of youre perticuler revenues shall reape greate profytle by encrease of subsidies, which allwayes will growe greater, together with the wealth of the lande, besides the increase of customes, and futch other revenues as shalbe made of the soile there gayned from the seas.

The sheere of Kent beinge within fewe yeres growen meruelouse industrious in tillinge and manuringe there groundes, when they shall see so convenient a Porte to vent there superfluous comodities, will not only encrease in wealth and people, but also yeld unto your ma^{tie} coffers for transportacon of there excesse in wheate, barly, and beere, greate encrease of revenues: and all other sheers taking example by them, will likewyse growe in labour, industry, wealth, and people.

There can noe pitche, tarre, mastes, cables, or other tackle for shippinge, passe from Danske, Denmarke, or other Northern partes to Fraunce, Spayne, or Italie, but your ma^{tie} havinge a stronge hande of shippinge at Dover, maye command, for money, the choice thereof before enye kinge in Christendom, in tyme of peace, and in tyme of warre therby also disable enemies, and contente freinds; besides y^e infinite comoditie that may happely growe, both to the whole Realme in generall, and to your maiesties coffers allsoe, by a Staple, that in tyme, with good pollecy, may bee erected there, to serve both Southe and North contries wth there muall comodities.

In

In tyme of warres howe dangerouse attemptes maye be made with smale frigotts by fyer, or otherwise, to endanger your maiesties Nauye, where nowe yt lieth with hope sufficiente to escape and returne againe before enye shippinge can be made out of the Tennes to reskue or revendge, the expertest fouldiers and seamen beste knowe (*d*). But this harborough beinge made and furnyshed w^t good shippinge, as allwayes yt wilbe, noe futch attempts will ever be made: the enemye beinge assured, howsoever the wynd blowe, upon enye alarme ether from London or Dover to be surprized, and noe hope left to escape.

Your ma^y havinge shippinge at Douer, may allsoe upon all sodaines with lesse charge sett furth to skowre the sea of pyrates, wherby your navy of marchants will mervelously encrease and florish, both to the greate strength and wealth of the Realme, and to the great encrease of your ma^y customs.

In like sorte our fishinge navies may be maynteyned and protected, as well from pillferinge pyrates, as other violence of strangers, and therby reape the benefite of your seas, whereby our strength by sea will mervelously encrease, and great numbers of poore people ymployed, as well on land, in knitting nettes, making and mendinge both shippes and tackle, as allsoe in gettinge of fyshe, a foode greatlye to releue the

(*d*) Thomas Digges is said to have written "England's Defence: a Treatise concerning Invasion; or a Brief Discourse of what orders were best for repulsing of foreign Enemies, if at any Time they should invade us by Sea, in Kent, or elsewhere," in 1599, (there must be a mistake in this date, as he died in 1595, it was written probably in 1590): but not published till 1686. London, fol. in five sheets. There was a tract of the same nature published at the end of his *Stratoticos*, edit. 1590, intituled, "A Briefe Discourse what Orders were best for repulsing of foraine Forces, if at any Time they should invade us by Sea, in Kent, or elsewhere." It contains only five leaves in 4to.—*Biograph. Brit.*

pouertie of the Realme, and excessiue to encrease your ma^s revenues, by customes of futch commodities as shall abundantly bee broughte in for exchange of those our fysh.

The fishinge navies beinge by this meanes bothe protected and greatly encreased: all lawes for poonishment and taxes for releevyng idle and pore people will then cease, for there shall be noe person for age or sicknes almoste so ympotent, but shall fynde heereby some trade wherby to get ther Lyvinge, as by example of the Lowe Contreis wee may plainly behoulde.

What greater honor to your ma^y then like as yo^r are (in righte of inheritance), Ladye of the narrow seas, for to bee able in dedde to maintayne y^r feyniorye, and to put the same in exequution at all tymes, as farre furthe as your highnes shall fynde convenient.

What greater honor to your maiestie then to bee the founder of so notable a Monumente, lyinge in the eie of almoste all the shippinge of Europe. A thinge your ma^s father aspired at w^t expence of soe greate a masse of his owne treasure.

What greater honor then to be able in tyme of peace and warre to protecte freinds, and offend enemyes more then enye other Prynce of Europe.

Seinge then it hath pleased God to leave unto y^r Realme futch a scituation for a porte towne, as all Christendom hathe not the like, and endowed the same withe all commodities by Land and Sea, that can be wyshed to make the harboroughe, allure entercourse, and mayntayne inhabitants. And that the same once performed (in all probable discourse of reason) shall bringe futch heapes of commodities, not only for increase of your maiestis particular revenues, but also of wellfare and riches to the whole Realme in generall. The same also
beinge

beinge a thinge so needfull, or rather of necessitie, aswell for succoringe and protecting friends as annoyng and offending enemyes, both in warre and peace. And that it hath pleased God in his providence to referue the same as an ornament of yo^r tyme, to be nowe performed by your maiestie, and least as a moste honorable Monument of your happy raigne to all posteritie.

Mee thinkes, there remayneth no other deliberacon in this case, but howe most sufficiently and with greatest perfection possible, most speedelye the same may bee accomplished.

And in discharge of some parte of my bounden duety to y^e advancement of your maiesty^s service, having not only heard, by examynacon of the auncient and most skilfull maryners and inhabitants of Dover, the true estate of all alterations that have happened there these forty yeres; but also my self seene and founded all the chanells, shelues, and rodes there, and sett them down exactly in platte, having also conferred the sondry opynions both of strangers, and also of our owne nation, for the repayringe or newe makinge a perfitt haven there, and comparing the same w^t that myself haue seene put in execucon in sondry places of the Lowe Countreis, for making havens artyficiall, I haue in the end resolved vpon one form of platte, which of all other, (aswell for the vie and comoditie when yt is finished, as for the possibilitie, or rather facilitie in makinge, for the probabilitye or rather assured certaintye of contynuance, for avoydinge greate wast of timber, and savinge a greate masse of treasure,) I finde and judge of moste perfeccō. And albeyt the Flemyshe platte, in former conference of comanyssioners, was adiudged of all other then offred the moste probable (e): yet vpon due consideration

"(e) See the petition of the mayor, jurates, and commonalty of Dover, presented
"to the Lords of the Council, stating the importance of the harbour of Dover,"
&c.

deration this platt, I presume, will appeare in all respects more comodiouse, more fæcible, more assured to contynue: farre lesse coast in maintenance, and at leaste siue thousand poundes lesse charge in makinge, as by thes articles of explanation and charge ensuyng more evidently maye appeare. The which I humbly presente to yo^r maiestys gratiouse consideraçon, as a matter of greate moment, both in peace and warre, for your highnes seruyce, for the greate comfort of all the Navie of yo^r Realme, and a Monumente moste honorable, and none of the leaste to all posteritie of your ma^{ty} moste prosperous, gratiouse, and happye raigne.

The Commodities of the English Platte, presented by Thomas Digges, compared withe the Flemmysh.

INPRIMIS, it is not haulf the charge of the Flemysh platte, by reason of the chargeable foundaçons allredy laied by K. Henrie the 8th w^{ch} are ymployed to serue this platte (f).

Besides the invention of a newe Baye, to bee made of beach, oaze, and chaulke, wherby infinite waste of tymber, and endlesse charge of reparations ys allsoe avoyded.

II. It is more probable and assured aswell in respecte of the backwater, which is farr greater, as of the scituaçon of the Sluce, which is farre nearer to the haven mouthe, besides a waulle to guyde y water w^{ch} in the Flemysh ys omytted.

III. It is more comodyouse, as well in respecte of the vse of that goodlye greate baye before the towne and castle, w^{ch}

&c. &c. preserved by Mr. Topham, in his "Historical Description of a Second Picture at Windsor Castle," p. 14.

(f) See "Plat of the Town and Harbour of Dover, temp. Queen Elizabeth," published with "A Description of an Antient Picture in Windsor Castle," &c. by John Topham, Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A.

in

in the Flemmyſhe platte is quyte loſte, as of the ſludgates, wherby veſſells may paſſe to the very towne, and ſhippes ride in water continually, that by the Flemmyſhe everye tyde lye on bare grounde.

IV. It is more aſſured, and leſſe perrilouſe, in reſpecte of convenient acceſſe for ſhipping at all tymes to reſte in ſafetye fludd and ebbe, w^{ch} in the Flemmyſhe platte is farre otherwiſe.

V. The harboroughe leſſe perrylouſe to enter, and much ſafer within then the Flemmyſhe, as by the platte conferred wilbe manyfeſte.

VI. The charge of maintenance this worke when it is finiſhed, not the quarter of the Flemmyſhe platte.

VII. Noe futch waſte of tymber as in the Flemmyſh platt, a thinge eſpecially to bee regarded.

VIII. There wilbee ſoe much lande at the peere gayned from the ſea, to buylde vpon, as together with that w^{ch} your m^y already hathe, will yelde for twentie one yeares, or three lyves, to be leaſed, an hundreth pounce rente a yeare, and after will be to the crowne for euer warth a thouſand markes by the yeare at leaſte : beſides all futche revenues as in tyme to come may be made of the longe Baye, and waſte under the caſtle.

IX. The revenues of the head money and haulf paſſage, with haulf the rents aforeſaid, will well ſuffice to mayntayne theſe workes : ſo that the other moitie will growe clerely to the crowne for euer, beſides a mervelouſe increaſe of cuſtome, &c.

X. The ſucceſſe of this platte not prooved by coniecture, but by evidente reaſons grounded vpon plaine experyence there allreadie wrought for thirtie yeares and more.

XI. The

XI. The haven, in full perfecōn made, cleared, and stronglye fortified, all with one charge, and y^e whole not to coste so mutche by five thousande poundes, as the Flemmysh platte of a drye harboroughe onlye.

The verity of all thes articles shall evidently appeare by conference of the explanacon of the platte ensuyng: with the articles of the trewe estate of Douer haven, and all alterations happened synce the buyldinge and decay of the peere, subscribed by the handes of the moſte auncient, sensible, and skillfull jurates, masters, and maryners of Dover, whiche I have also adioyned because they may serue

as a teste to trye y^e value of enye
plattes offered, and to discerne
probable and feazible,
from vaine fryvo-
louse and
phantaſticall.

*Articles explyning the English Platt of Dover Haven presented
by Thomas Digges.*

INPRIMIS, there is converted to the use of this platt, so greate a parte of the peere, and other foundacons laid by your ma^{ty} father kinge Henrye 8th, as would coste at leaste twentie thousand poundes yf thay were nowe to be newe made.

The Northern wauall that leadeth from the Sluce to the haven mowthe, and all other workes in this platte of stone or tymber that are to bee newe made, are ſetled upon firme foundacons of rock, and to be wrought vnder the protection of y^e peere alreadye buylt, whereby thay are shrowed from the radge of the sea, and therby to be framed more easely and assuredly, and wth farre lesse chardge.

Likewyse on the other side, yt is protected from the force of the seas wth greate shelues and banks of beache, w^{ch} with groins of smale charges may be encreased or mynyshed as occasyon shalbe offered.

The longe wauall from the haven mowth towards the towne, hath already, by nature, a foundaçon made of 15 foote highe of beache, with oaze, so incorporate that it retayneth water of ytsel.

By this præcedent allreadye offered by nature, wee meane to raize a bay 8 or 10 foote higher of the like substance: whervnto arte shall adioyne futch foorme and matter as muste of necessity cause mutch greater perfecō, and therby abundantly suffice to serue the purpose it is ordayned for.

And because experience teachith, that chaulke with oaz doth singularly bynde, and greate clyffes and mountaynes of chaulke therto adioynynge: This Baye shalbe made of those three substances, chaulke, beache, and oaze, which, without charg, God hath there provided and layd in redynesse, which skillfully cowched and interlaced, as by y^e Modells for that purpose more perticulerly maye appeare, cannot but make a Bay farre more sure, and tenfold lesse charge then futch as in the Flemyshe platte ys required.

And to the Seawarde this Baye shall allway be defended and garded with a massye banke of beache, w^{ch} by the Northren jawe of the haven mouth will allway bee maynteyned, and may with groynes of smale charge at pleasure be encreased in what place wee lyst.

And wheras the excessive waste of pile and plank in the Flemyshe platte, to performe so hudge a worke of 5 furlonge in length, wold be futch as yt is doubtfull whether the whole Realme be able to spare tymber to supplye, yt is noe

lesse doubtfull also after they shall passe y^e rocky soile, whether they shall euer with any pyling reach so deepe as to make a sure foundation to settle there waulle vpon.

But in this worke the founda^{co}n is allreadye settled and rayzed 15 or 16 foote in heighte, within 6 or 7 foote of full sea, and the same allreadye by experience found so firme, as yt retayneth water that standeth 12 or 14 foote in heighte about the lowe water marke. And therefore no doubt at all by arte to supply the finale worke remayninge to be fynished.

Heereby shall be avoyded the excessive waste of tymber, w^{ch} wold be not only burdenouse and odyous to the whole Realme, but also moste iniuryouse to your ma^{ty} Navie; and also to y^e whole Navie of your ma^{ty} Subiects: a matter moste especially to bee respected.

The mole without is allreadye rayfed by yo^r ma^{ty} father, with rockes 3 fadome in heighte, ther is noe more to doe, but by the same arte of tunbotes to raise the worke 2 or 3 fadome higher. For performance wherof the rockes allreadye sonken, w^{ch} may be wayed up and remoued from betweene the haven and the newe Mole, will almost suffice without farder seeking for them.

The Sowtherne Juttye or bullwarke will allwaye retayne so greate a quantitie of beache betweene the sea and the peere, as the howses there built, and to bee built, will neuer be in eny danger, as by evident experience these 40 yeares, y^e is most manyfest by successe of groynes allredy made.

Also after those 30 rodd of the Peere betwene that juttye and the Mole shalbe cleared, the sea having his free course of ebbe and fludd through the same, cannot by eny meanes permitt any shelves or banckes of beach or sande, to lye before the haven mowthe, for by evident experyence these 30 yeares,

yeares, and more yt hath byn approued, that no shelues of beache have euer growne or remayned longer then they have byn shrowded and protected by the peere. Soe that the only doubte is of such beache as may repose it self vnder the Sowtherne jawe of the haven mowth, which, by the force of the Master Sluce, shall allway be scowred and remooued.

This master-Slucce, as in the platt may beste bee conceaued, is placed directly againste the haven mowth, not 20 rodd distant from y^e only place of perrill to bee clenfed, the backwater farre greater then that of the Flemmythe platt, his course firste straightned betweene the jutties to geeue him force, and then, by a wauill directlye guyded and ayded to worke his beste effecte, and so farre more probable, and assured in all respects then the Flemmythe, to clense the haven mowthe, wherof there is none that euer sawe the workinge of the Sluces in the Lowe Countreis, or in Newhaven in France, that can make enye doubte.

True it is the abundance of beache is futche that is carried with the fludd, as by noe groynes it is possible to be stayed, and therefore no contending by force with an enemye so puyssante, but wyfely to geeue him place, and free passadge is the only way and then by a stronge backwater to purge and clense futche dregges as he shall leave behinde him to annoy the haven mowth. Thus will the fludd carry him Eastward, farder and farder towards Sandwiche, wth hereafter will rest in more perrill of this beache, then ever Dover shall, and muste, in tyme to come, be constrayned by like arte to ayde them selves againste yt.

This is plainly approued by the hudge groynes and black bulwarke buylt by your ma^r father to stay the beache, which, neuertheles, after yt had filled all those workes, came about the hed of the peere, howe farre soeuer yt was built, and

vnder y^e lee and shadowe therof, banked it self into greate shelues, which shelues and bankes of beach never contynued longer then the peere defended them: for so sone as the North-east end of the peere decayed, the sea presently removed those banks of beache, and as the peere decayed more, soe were those bankes of beach, allwayes more worne away, and neuer rested farder furth into the sea then they were protected by the Peere. And at this daye, there is nether bankes of beache nor sande, that lyeth higher or farder out then yt is protected by the rockes or buyldings of the peere. As by the articles of the true estate of the haven, acknowledged by generall consent of the auncient skillfull masters, &c. more plainly may appeare.

A fludgate, or locke, there is also made in the bight adioyninge to the master-fluce, as in the platt is beste perceaued, the whiche shall serue not only to lett in and out all futch vessels as may passe with marchandize even up to the towne, but also to penne vp the backwaters to futch height, that shippes may safely ride a flote, fludde and ebbe within.

These kinde of lockes, or fludgates, are vsually in many places of the Lowe Contreis, and shall haue in this place, therto assigned, a firme founda^{co}n of chaulkie rocke to settle vpon. The proportion of the fludgates and capestainds to wynde them open, and faste, shall in Modell bee alsoe sett downe.

The Ryver, as by the platte may beste bee conceaued, ys turned from his old course, at the stone bridg by a double fluce, to let him runne ether towards the castle, or towards Paradize, as occasyon shalbe offered: towards Paradice, yt is conueied all alonge the streete vnder the Clyffe, not only to serue all the inhabitants wth freishe water, but all so by the second double fluce, called Paradize-fluce, to clense and scowre

at all tymes, both partes of the oldē haven, named Paradize; and allso the chanell of the newer haven, even downe to the mowthe, and will reasonably suffice of it self, to clense the mowthe, and kepe yt open, excepte by some radge of Eastern wynds, the beache growe sodainly to a greate banke. Upon enye futch occasion shall the Master-sluce bee opened, whose violence willbe futch aswell in respect of the greate waighe of the backwater, as of the depthe of his faull, and of his force, enclosed and guydē to the place, and chiefly by reason of the neereneffe therunto, that it will teare vp and open the passadge, though it were clene closed vp. And soe, no doubt at all of a perpetuall good harboroughe for ever.

The foorme of the master-sluce, and double sluces, shall allsoe, in modell particularly be described.

The laste and left sluce of all, is that w^{ch} resteth in the North-east wall of the backwater nexte the castle, which may bee ether a sluce, or litle locke, to penne vp the water, and lett boates passe to and froe: the vse therof is not only to receaue water sufficient to deuide the encreased beach, or base towne, from Douer itself, thereby to preferue the chief towne from eny danger of sodaine incurfions, but allso to lett goe at lowe water, to scowre and make a good chanell all-way for shippes to come up to y^e towne.

The soile woonne and gayned from the sea, wherto your ma^y iustly is and shalbe entituled, may be sorted into 200 ground platts at the left, for dwellinge howses, besides conueniente roomes left for streetes, market place, churchē, &c. as in the platte is expresse, and euery of those howse plattes, one with another, of suche receyte as, beinge builte, will yelde at lest 20 nobles rente yerely a peece, yf thay were in a towne of farre lesse entercourse then this is sure to bee. And to haue a lease for three lyves, of so much soyle for a howse platt, in
a place

a place of such trade to build vpon, they cannot want tenants at xs. rente a yeare, to buyld on there owne charges, which presently wold yelde your ma^{tie} 100l. a yeare, and 1000 markes yearly at least, after expiracōn of those leases to the crowne for euer. Besides all the newe baye, and that lande that yerely will encrease more, vnder and beyonde the Castle, able to scituate a newe towne vpon. The same likewyse to yeld you ma^{tie} and successors a rent by such as shalbe permitted to dwell thereon.

After this Haven and Mole ys brought to perfectōn, there is noe doubt but the entercourse of all nations will be so greate as your ma^{tie} shall haue tenants ynowe to inhabite and builde both the newe bay, and also that waste vnder the castle, which beinge sorted out into convenient streetes, will shortly growe to bee a proper base towne, and yelde a greate revenue to the crowne for euer.

Nowe, that by apparante demonstration (not grounded vpon phantasie or coniecture, but approued by experyence and successe for 30 or 40 yeares), I hope it is euident that these workes beinge performed, the haven and rode will be safe, sure, and comodious for all shippinge that shall passe this frete or promontorie to repaire unto, wherof the number wilbe so greate, and entercourse so notable, as yt cannot but excessiuely enriche and encrease the inhabitants, yt wilbe also necessary to consider howe the same may bee fortified, and made of strength sufficient to withstand enye sodaine attempte or incurfyon of the enemye. Wherein, if this foorme of Platte deserue enye commendacōn in respecte of the haven makinge; it is chiefly in this, that with one and the same charge the haven is both made and strongly fortified, and every juttie, towre, and baye, dothe serue to a double office, both to resiste y^e violence of the sea, preserue the haven, and
also

also to repell the forreyn enemye, as forcebly as if the workes had byn made to y^t only purpose, as by the platte and articles ensuyng more playnely shall appeare.

Of the Fortification.

THIS baye, or haven of Dover, is on ether side, as well beyond the castle North-east ward, as beneth the greene bullwarke South-westwarde, envyroned with foe hudge, steepe, and highe cliffes, as ther is no possibilitye for the enemye to lande, but ether on the beache against the peere, or towne, or ells to enter the harborough it self. For landinge against the peere, that Southern juttie made to mayntayne the beache, doth also very aptely supply the office of a platfoorme, or bullwarke, not only with ordynance to beate into the sea, and all the enterance betwene the mole and yt, but also to flanke Westward all the beache and landinge places there, as conveniently as yf it had byn of purpose made to noe other vse.

Likewyse the Northerne jawe of the haven mowthe beinge chesely made to encrease a backe of beache alonge the newe bay or banke, serueth not lesse fitly for a platforme, to scowre all that beach along downe towards the castle foote, where yt is againe answered with the other platfoorme alreadye restinge at the foote of the clyffe.

And for the haven mowthe it self, besides the platfoormes on the jutties without, there is alsoe within the haven adioyninge to the sluice, a platt foorme planted with ordynance, directlye beatinge the enterance, in futch sorte as yt is vterly ympossible for enye vessell to enter there, yt may not bee bowged by enye one of those three defences; and yet is there

also the stone towre, which not only serueth for the sluice howse, but also to command those platformes and defend the master-sluice, and besides all thes defences, there is also all the ordynance from the castle on the one side, and greene bullwarke on y^e other, to crossebeate clene ouer all the baye.

The newe buildinge alsoe by the peere, beinge sorted, as in the platt is described, besides convenient streetes for accesse to all the howses, there is a place of assembly leste large ynowghe to putt 1000 souldiers in battaill, with convenient passadges to marche towards the curteynes, on the sea, with streetes of capacitie sufficient to receaue souldiers for defence of those curteynes, so that there is nether Antwerpe, Flusshing, nor eny of all there townes in the Lowe Contreis that are reputed strongest, that towards the sea is more forcebly fortified then this shalbee.

Towards the mayne, yt cannot be denyed, but yt is euery way commanded of the hills and cliffes, and therfore, what wealth and pride foeuer y^e towne shall growe vnto, yt shall neuer be able to stande alone, but allwayes at devocōn of the foueraigne; nether can the forreyne enemy, if by eny treason he should surprise yt euer be able to houlde and keape it againste a kinge of Englande; and yet as sufficiently able to defende it selfe from enye hostile invasyon by sea, as eny towne of Christendom that is reputed moſte stronge and sure.

*A Computation of the
Charges of Dover Haven, accordinge
to the English Platte.*

*The Charges of one Rodd square of Wauall filled to a foote in
heighte.*

Ensuethe.

s. d.

The hewing of the stone ashlar, and Endstones,
with artyficiall bevelinge, and lockbands, one
within another, will amounte before they be at the
place readye to be layed, 12d. the foot of pare-
ment measure; and foe for the rodde - 16 6

The endstones shalbe 4 foote at left longe, and therfore
requireth a yard and more of fillinge betwene those endstones,
which must be doon ether with ragstone or hewen chaulke
laied in mortar. Counterfortes allso muste be made 10 or
12 foote in length, and 3 foote brode; at the foote in
every rod one of hewen chaulke, the rest shalbe of oaze,
beache, and other rubbish rammed betwene those counter-
forts.

One barrell of Tarris will serue to laye three
rodd, at 5s. the barrell - - 1 8

18 busshells of lyme, at 2d. the busshell, will
laye one rodd - - 3

18 busshells of sand, at 1d. the busshell, will
laye one rodd - - 1 6

80 foote ragstone, or hewen chaulke, in eury
rod, to lyne the wauall, and make y^e counterforts,
at 1d. ob. the foote - - 10

2 workemen, 6 laborers, will substantially worke
one rodd square a day to a foote in height, and
allso ram in the core: ther wages - 7 0

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H h

Some

	s.	d.
Some of one rodd long, one foote high -	39	8
The foure foote wauall alone without counterfortes and core, will well be performed the rodd for - - -	20	

The Longe Wauall.

This wauall is to bee made by cuttinge a trenche in y^e mayne bankes of beache, which are allredy so bound with oaze, that they hould water, and by filling that trenche with the mudd and oaze which cloyeth now the haven. The which oaze will in shorte tyme, so combynde all the beache, as no water at all thall be able to drayne out, and that which is throwne vp will raize the same aboue the highe water marke. It muste be myxed and interlaced with chaulke, and cowched in bevelinge manner, accordinge to suche patterne and proportion as in modell is sett downe. One rodd of this may well be performed with twoe lighters, of eight men to a lighter, in 5 daies.

There wages will amount to 20 nobles y^e rodde, which is the whole charge. For the stuffe costeth nothinge, and the lighters may allso bestowe, in that tyme, good store of chaulke at the bottome of the bay, to strengthen and bynde the foote therof.

*The Charges of the Baies
and Jutties, &c.*

The firste juttie or hedd ruynge from the haven mowthe Sowth, into the sea, is 36 rodd longe, whereof 30 rodd is of single wauall, beinge

DOVER HAVEN.

235

inge allreadie filled, y^e whiche, at 20s. the rodd,
30 foote highe, amounteth vnto -

£. s.

900

The other 6 rodd to bee made into the sea
withe counterforts, and core at 39s. 8d. the rodd,
32 foote highe is - -

380 16

The end and West side of the same juttie will
hold 9 roddes longe, 32 foote highe, with
core and counterforts, at 39s. 8d. the rodde is

571 4

Allso betweene these twoe wälles of a rodd in
thicknes there will be about 12 rodd solid, to
be filled with beache, oaze, rubbish, &c. 3l. y^e
rodd solid a pece, wilbe -

36

The Sowtherne jawe allso of the haven
mowthe to the cheyne, 8 rods longe, 30 foote
highe, without core, at 20s. the rodde -

240

Allso the turnynge to the stayres of single
waull, without core, 8 rodd more -

240

Allso from the stayres 10 rod, wth core, at
39s. 8d. the rod, 24 foote highe -

576

Some of this whole

Jutties charge is - £2944

The Northerne jawe and waull to the greate
Sluce 28 rod longe, w^t the turninge end, may
be accounted at 30 rodd longe on ether side,
and so 60 rod in all, w^t core and counterforts
at 39s. 8d. y^e rodde, 24 foote highe, amounteth
vnto - -

2856

Allso betwene those waulles, about 40 solid
rod, at 3l. the rod of core - -

120

Some of this Baye £2976

H h 2

The

The South baye or landfether of the great
sluce, 10 rodd on the one side, and 12 on the
other, with y^e turnynge ende, may be accounted
round about 25 rodd, y^e which 24 foote high,
at 39s. 8d. the rodd, amounteth vnto -

£. s.

1190

Item 20 rod of core solid amounteth vnto

60

Some of this baye £1250.

The embowed bay, wherein the fludgate to
lett shippes passe to the towne shall stande, is
17 rodd on ether side, the fludgate 24 foote
highe, at 39s. 8d. the rodde -

795 12

The greate Sluce wth his storehowse and all en-
gynns therto apperteyninge with your ma^{ty}s Sta-
tua in y^e frunt for an honorable monument,
that this haven was your ma^{ty}s arte, may coste

1000

The fludgates to lett shippes passe to and fro
to the towne, with the stone stayers by y^e haven
mowthe -

400

The dooble sea wauall from the Northern jutty
downe to the castle, being made of chalk, oaze,
and beach 5 rodd ouer at y^e base, and narrow-
inge to the breadth of 4 rod at the toppe, wth
a coffyn damme in the myddle of 6 foote at the
coffyn damme bottome, and ten foote at the
toppe, filled with oaze, at 10l. the rodd, being
200 rod in length, will amownt vnto -

2000

The makinge of the dammes to keape out the
sea while the woorke is in hande, and a groyne
to wyne more beach on the South side, and
certaine milles to void the water will coste

2000

The whole charge of
the haven according

to this platte - £13365 12s.

Of the Mole.

The buyldinge of the mole, and clearing of the 30 rodd of the peere, betweene the mole and harborough mowthe ys performed at once, for by tunbotes those sonken rockes may both be wayed, and allso conveyed to the mole better cheape then to seke them farder off,

The Charges.

5 Tunbotes havinge to euery boate 8 men,	£.
will haue for wages 40s. a day, and these,	
in 2 yeares, will verie well raize the mole to	
his perfection. The charge therof amounteth	
vnto - - -	1460
150 tunnes and chaines to serue y ^e botes will	
coste - - -	300
The charges of the Mole -	£1760.

The turnynge of the Ryuer, and makinge of the other Sluces, may be doonne at leysure, after the streete downe to the peere is buylte: for then will euery howse for his owne comoditie in respecte of freishe water, bee content to beare haufe charge of trenchinge the chanell, where the ryver shall roonne, and the sluces will not coste 500*l*. the makinge, excepte the townsmen growinge welthy for the bewtye of there towne lyste to garnish them with faire stone howses, wherein thay may bee at more or lesse charge as they lyste.

The

*The order of Proceeding to make
this haven w^t leasſe charges
in greateſt perfection.*

THE firſte degree of all other is to reſolve vpon ſome one certaine platte, without the which no deliberacon can be vſed, nor reſolution made, what proportion of ſtuſſe is to bee provided, nor what kinde of woorkmen entertayned. And if the platte I haue preſented to your ma^{tie} be founde in due examynacon more probable and eaſye to bee performed, more comodiouſe for vſe of ſhipping, leſſe perrylouſe for entrance, more profitable to the towne then the beſt hitherto preſented, and at leaſte twenty thouſand pounds leſſe charge. Then I thinke yt ſhalbe noe ill adviſe to reſolve on the ſame. Yf enye better may be offered, I wiſh the beſt to be ſelected. And albeit, by attentyve examynacon of all circumſtances, I have fully ſatiſfied myſelf, yet, in a matter of this ymportance, I will not by eny meanes take vpon mee ſo greate a burthen as to avowche enye thinge vpon myne owne credit, but having heere ſett downe demonſtratively both myne opynion and the reaſons that induce me to yt, I humbly crave yt may with others be conferred, the beſte choſen, and the ſame as a platte delivered from your ma^{ty} ſpeedely, ſubſtancially, and effectually to be putt in exequution. And for the order of proceedinge in y^e woorke, if this platt ſhall be choſen, I thoughte meete to adioyne theſe few notes enſuyng:

In all woorkes, whether thay be greate or ſmale, there is twoe uſual wayes to bargain for them. The one is called by greate, when ether the whole together, or partes therof ſeuerally, for a pryce certaine are concluded, and bargayned for.

The

The other, when woorkemen of all fortes are by daies wages intertayned, and so the woorke sett forward accordinge to the platte.

In the firste way, there neede noe treasurer, comptroller, clearkes, purveyo^r, nor other officers, but only a surveyor or overseer, from tyme to tyme, to see the worke substantially and perfittlie performed, according to the platte and patterne agreed vpon.

But in so greate and strange a worke as this, there are none that by greate will ever offer to vndertake the same, but they wilbe sure to demand dooble so muche as happely may performe it; and will also, yf they bee not diligently overseene, synche the worke, and ether for lucre, or feare of losse, make yt so sleightly and insufficiency as maye vtterly spoile the whole.

And this, I thinke, mooued your ma^{ty} father rather to choose the second way, wherein his ma^{ty} was excessiue charged by multitude of officers, which were twentie at leaste, continually in paye.

To avoid therefore both inconveniencs, a meane coorse may be taken, in establisshing only futch officers as of necessitie muste contynue, whiche shalbe verye fewe.

And for purveyo^r for tymber, cariadges, bayn woorkes, and tunnbord, for wardens of Carpen^ts, Masons, and Cupers; for Clarkes of Barrmen, Coorts, Masons, and Carpenters, and futch other inferiour officers by comyssion they may be placed and discharged as occasions shall arize in the works to vse or leave them; and therby greate soms of money saved that otherwyse shuld be consumed in idle officers. But of this comyssion I leave more particularly to intreate, because yt is allredy drawne in very convenient order.

But to speede forward the worke, yt were convenient that before the felling season passe away, the commysioners meete to geue order that there bee provysion made for tymber, aswell for pile as planke, which muste in diuerse partes of the worke bee vsed.

Allso for tunbotes especiall care muste be had of very choise tymber to make the caske boordes, and then muste they bee very well seasoned, for if those toonnns leake, and receaue water, thaye are vtterlye ymprofytable. There is litle tymber in Kent to be found for this purpose, excepte in the weald, but in Suffex I thinke will beste prouysyon be made.

Then shall yt bee beste of euery kinde of worke to begynne a rodd or twoe, and that fynished and made substantially, artificially, and in full perfection, to trye who will vndertake beste cheape by greate, according to those patterns, to fynish the reste.

Likewyse aswell for refoormynge yf all that stone y^t hath byn misheuen by direction of one Treewe, as also for newe makinge of all the rest, y^t may be proponed to futch as (according to the modell or patterne delivered by the director of the woorks) shall undertake to square them by the foote of Parement measure, at least price. If enye will take it in hand better cheape then it shall faull out by dayes worke.

And in the meane tyme, till suche persons can bee found as will bargaine for eche kind of worke by greate, good orders muste be sett downe emonge the woorkmen, and there workes so sorted, and futch preparacon made for stufte convenient, that noe tyme be losse, nor paye ymployed on idle personnes.

For all these and euery other perticularities, the commysioners may, from tyme to tyme, establish or make orders accordingly, as by the overseer of the woorks, thay shalbe advertized of defaultes.

And

And thus maye the whole woorks be performed substantially, surely, and workemanly, and that with as smale charge and expences as ys possible.

And to the end, a fynall resolution in this matter may bee taken, and that the worke yt self, without farder delay, may goe in hand: I haue hereto also adioyned articles of the true estate of the same haven, with such alteracions as haue happened sythens the firste begynninge, buylding, and decaying of the peere, wherby yt shalbe easye, even as by a tutchstone, to trye, and certainly by reason to examyn the probabilitye of all plattes offered.

The articles ensue.

*Articles of the true estate of
Douer Haven both before and sithens y.
building of y^e Peere, wth the alterations made
by the beach, as it is found by y^e examinacion of the
most sensible, Auncient, and skilfull Men, by
direction of the Lord Admirall of England,
being at Douer the 21 December,
anno 1581.*

Before the peere was builte out, there are men alyue can remember that there was no banckes or shelues of beache to be seene before Douer, but all cleane sea, betwene Arteclif tower and the castle clyffe.

By experience it hath byn allwayes found that as the peere was built out, so the banckes of beach also beganne to growe, and lay farder out as the peere was farder built, and as the peere hath decayed, so thes banckes of beache also haue byn ether scowred awaye, or dryven farder in, and that those

bankes of beache never reste farder furth into the sea, then they are defended by the peere.

Allso it is found that the making of groynes will euer encrease quantitye of beache, and the decay or pulling downe those groynes, doth allso cause the same bancke of beach to weare away so farre furth as the groynes are builte or taken awaye.

Allso yt is found that the abundance of beache ys so greate as thay cannot bee staied by enye groinds, but that they will fill the groyns, and then goe aboute them, holdinge on there course as the fludde caryeth them.

Allso that there is noe other enterance or haven mowthe at this presente, but sutch as the ebbinge out of the sea water, and coorse of the ryver doth keape open.

It is allso found by experyence that y^e same mowthe or enterance doth allwayes growe neerer and neerer towards the towne; and that in tymes paste yt hath growne so neare, that by the violente radge of the sea, passing through the same; a parte of the towne it self hath byn in danger to be overthrowne.

Allso it is found, that the beach hathe, and dothe increase still more and more, vnder and beyond the castle.

Allso y^e lately where 5 rodd of bayn worke haue byn made vp of the broken peere, the beache is allso growne out to the end therof, and so growth downe from thence lower and lower towards the towne warde.

Allso it is founde that the greate rocks that were sonken by kinge Henrie VIII. doe still lye there, and are not remoued by eny violence of sea, but by the wearing of them, or loose-nesse of the ground vnder them, have sonken somewhat lower and lower.

Allso it is found that, parte of the peere standethe on a firme rocke of chaulke, and parte on a softe soyle.

Allso

Allso it is apparante at this present, that where the beache and oaze are incorporate together in a maine shelf, yt so retayneth the water inclosed within the same, towards the clyffe, that there is euer a longe standing poole of water, 12 foote at leaste higher then the sea without at lowe water.

*The names of sutch Masters and
Townsmen of Douer, as acknow-
ledged w^t one Consent, all the
Articles aboue conteyned, to
be verie true.*

THOMAS WATTSON,
WILLIAM TYDEMAN,
THOMAS SISELYE,
JOHN HARTE,
JOHN GOULDSTONE,
WILLIAM GILBERTE,

JOHN LEGEND,
HARRY TYDEMAN,
THOMAS BROUNGER,
THOMAS HASSELWOOD,
JOHN APHOWELL,
THOMAS PANTERYE.

*Articles of the State of Douer Harbour resolved
upon before Master Richarde Barrie, Lieutenant
of Douer Castle, John Garret Maior of Douer,
and the Jurates there, the third day of
January 1581, by the Examination of the
moste sensible, auncient, and skillfull Men
and Maryners of Douer, upon certaine Questions
or Articles proponed by Thomas Digges, Esq.
whose Names are subscribed as followethe :*

Firste, thay affirme that the wooden staires of the peere did lye distante from the end of the bavyn worke nowe newly made, fixe rodde and foure foote.

Item, It is well remembred, that at a full sea, a shippe that had drawne 18 or 20 foote water, might haue layed her side to the said staires.

Item, thay affirme that thay haue knowne lye in the bight wthin the Crane, at one tyme, the Faucon, the Sacre, the Barke of Bulleyn, the Greyhound, the Rose Lyon, the George and the Dragon of the kings. And thay well remember that shippes of 200, and better, have ridden there.

Item, yt is knowne, by experyence, that the said staires stand vpon rockes of chaulke, and that is rocks of chaulke all alongest.

Item, thay say that the inward bight or old harboroughe called the Paradize, was mutche filled with oaze and beache, and that the same was caried out by mens hands, for to make the harboroughe better for the lodginge of Shippes.

Item, thay agree and affirme that the South and South-west wyndes do bringe the beache : But it passeth away furthe without as yt comethe, vnlesse yt be stayed by groyndes.

Item,

Item, thay finde that these wyndes that bringeth the beache will carry away the same furthe onn to the castle as aforesaid. And the Easte, and E. Northeft wyndes be the wyndes that do moste stay the beache without the peere.

JOHN GARRET, Maior of Douer,	} Jurates.
THOMAS ANDREWE, Bailie there,	
ROBERT FYNNETT,	
THOMAS WATTSON,	
ROGER GRyce,	
WILLIAM WELLYE,	
THOMAS BRODGATE,	
JOHN KNAPPE,	
JOHN BARGAR,	

WILLIAM TYDYMAN,
 RICHARD SISELYE,
 COBHAM DOVES,
 HARRY TEDYMAN,
 JOHN LEGENT,
 ROBERT BIRTE,
 WILLIAM COURTNEY,
 RICHARD CARTER,

THOMAS BRONGER
 JOHN HARTE,
 ROBERTE EDGE,
 JOHN TOOKE,
 JOHN GOLSBY,
 THOMAS MARYCHURCH,
 THOMAS HASLEWOOD,
 ROBERTE FLEM'YNGE.

*Questions proponed by Thomas Digges, Esq
resolved upon by the most skillful Seamen
and Maryners of Douer, as foloweth:*

Question. Inprimis, Howe longe the tide that cometh from the South-west, commonly caulled the fludd, dothe roon on his cyurse after it is full sea, within y^e harbour. I meane howe many howres it ronnet North-east before the full sea, and how manye howres after comonlye?

Answer. To that it is answered, the tyde of flud contynuethe ronnyng alongest the shoare three howres at the Mole hed, and so alongst to the North-east, afore yt is full sea in the harbour, and after it is full sea in the harbour; listewise other three howres.

Question. Item, how manye foote the water doth faull, or ebbe righte downe at or within the mole, before the tyde turne, I meane before the tide begynne to roon to the Sowth-west at y^e Mole?

Answer. To that it is answered, that it faulleth in the springe streames ten or eleven foote, afore the tide begynne to run backe, and at a Neape streame seven foote.

Question. Item, whether the fludde or y^e ebbe roonne swyfteste at the Mole hed?

Answer. To that it is answered, that the ebbe runneth swyftest at the Mole hed, as they well fynd by experyence.

Question. Item, whether the tide that cometh from the North-east, commonly called the ebbe, doe run swyftest, ether w^hin the mole, or without the mole?

Answer. To that it is answered, that the ebbe dothe roonne faster and stronger without the Mole then w^hin.

Question.

Question. Item, howe many foote the tide that cometh from y^e North-east, doth make the water swell wthin the Mole, aboue the lowe water marke, before the tide cominge from the Sowth-west, commonly called the fludd, begynne to roonne?

Answer. To that it is answered, that it swelleth in spring streames x or xi foote, and in neape streames vii foote, before y^e tide of fludd bee bente.

Question. Item, howe many foote is the water swollen or raized in heighte aboue the lowe water marke by the Mole, at such tyme as the tide firste begynneth to run from the South-west there?

Answer. To that it is answered, that it swelleth or rayzeth in heighte aboue the lowe water by the Mole, at such tyme as the tyde firste begynneth to roonne from y^e Sowth-west, ten or eleven foote.

Question. Item, howe many foote doth the fludd raize y^e water from the first beginning or coming from the Sowth-west till it hath made full sea, and in what tyme, I mean at or within the Mole?

Answer. To that it is answered, that in a spring streame, at full sea, at the Mole, it higheth or raizeth twentie or one and twentie fote water, and at a neape streame, fourteene foote water.

Question. Item, in the bay before the towne, and againste the platforme, howe deepe maye yo^r passe before yo^r come to the firm foundation?

Answer. To that it is answered, that in the same baye it hath byn sounded, and that within right over againste the platfforme, w^{ch} wee take yo^r meane Penylesbenche, yt is soe incorporated with oaze and beach, that we cannot driue downe to the foundation any thinge: but at the lowe water marke

it

it hath byn proued by a barr of ix foote longe, and it reacheth not y^e foundation.

Question. Item, howe longe it is sithence the bankes of beache laye out beyond the wooden staires at the peere?

Answer. To that it is answered, that it is sithence eny pullers of beach came out beyond y^e wooden staires in the peere, a twoe or three and thirtie yeres paste, and there hath not byn enye pullers of beache so farre out as the said staires this 18 yeres, by reason of the decay of the black bullwarke, and tymber worke vpon the Mole.

Question. Item, howe farre beyonde the wooden staires of the peere can eny man remember that the bankes of beache hath layen out towards the Molehed, and howe longe it is sithence?

Answer. To that it is answered, that they do well remember that bankes of beache haue lyen beyond the wooden staires towards the Molehed, a three hundreth foote longe, and it is a 29 yeres past.

Question. Item, howe farre, or howe many rodde beyonde the same wooden staires did the bankes of beach lye, towards the Molehed, at suche tyme as a parte of the streetes or howses of Douer towne were in daunger to have byn overthrown by the frettinges of the sea?

Answer. To that it is answered, that at the tyme when as the howses and streetes in Douer were in danger to be taken away, there lay no beach then without y^e staires to the Molehed ward.

Question. Item, howe highe aboue the lowe water the tide that cometh from the North-east dothe commonly raize the water vnder the Mole?

Answer. To that it is answered afore in the 6 and 7 questions.

Question. Item, within the Crane, betwene the clyffe and the oaze banckes, how many foote doth yt commonly ebbe and flowe ?

Answer. To that it is answered, within the Crane, in the chanell alongst the clyffe ther standeth still six foote of water, and that it floweth vpon yt six foote of water more, so in all, at the full springe tide, ther is 12 foote water, and at a neape it floweth nothinge at all there, by reason of the oaze and beache incorporate together without.

Question. Item, at the Mole within: How many foote doth it commonly ebbe and flowe, righte vpp and downe ?

Answer. To that it is answered twentie or one and twentie foote water.

Question. Item whether the tide that cometh from y^e North east, comonly called the ebbe, doth not ronne very slowly within the Mole in respect of the course of the fluddwithoute ?

Answer. To that yt is answered affirmatively that yt dothe.

THOMAS WATSON,
JOHN HARTE,
THOMAS GOODSON,
JOHN LEGENTE,
WILLM. GILBARD,
JOHN GOLSTON,
HENRYE TYDIMAN,
JOHN TOOKE,
THO. MARYCHURCH,

WILLIAM TYDYMAN,
JAMES RYTHER,
RICHARD SYSELY,
THOMAS HASLEWOOD,
WILLM. COURTNEY,
ROBERTE HEDGE,
THO. WOODDE,
JAMES NEALLS,
THO. BRONGER.

1581.

*The Occasion and Charge of the other Plattes for
Dover Haven, presented by Thomas Digges,
w^{ch} the Harborough Mowth opened crosse the
Peere. S: EST.*

Forasmutche as by some seamen it is thought more serviceable to lay the haven mowth rather crosse y^e peere without, then Eastward within, because I wold be loth to geve eny ympedim^t to the proceedinge of so ymportant a worke of your ma^{ty} service, I am contente to yeld to that opynion. But this neverthelesse is manyfest, that the same can nev^r be but a tide haven not mete to receave eny of yo^r ma^{ty} greateshippes, nor yet to be entered at all tymes, wheras contrarywise if that Mole may be finished, wherof the greatest parte ys allreadye performed by kinge Henrye, yt shalbe a safe receptacle for the greatest shippes at all tymes to enter, and a sure rode for all wyndes that can blowe in the skie, and soe an incomperable jewell to this realme. Farder, wheras by laying the haven mowth crosse the peere, eny shipp that myseth the enterance betwene the Jutties (as having such crosse currentes many in a yeare may) there is nothing but death vpon the ledge of the rockes, this Mole maye allways be a rescue and safe receptacle to salve them that otherwise muste certenlye perrishe. Farder the indroughte that will passe in by y^e blacke bullwarke will allso much kill the fury of the crosse tyde, and purchase to the harboroughe a more mild enterance. And albeit both Mole and harbōrough may well be performed with lesse then 16000l. yet, because in newe workes it is harde to perswade a truth, the matter may be so ordered, as ether worke may be severally so finished as the one don shall not
preiu-

preiudice the proceeding in the other herafter. And to that end haue I framed other plattes accomodatinge both bayes and Sluces to best advantage to mayntayne the harboroughs mowth crosse the peere as is nowe defyred, and by aide of the Mole to prevente many perrills and difficulties y^e otherwise yt wold be subiecte vnto, and a possibilitie allway lefte wth meane charge to open y^e mowth, another way, yf this may hereafter be found subiecte to moe perrills then is nowe supposed. But to follow ether the Flemmysh platte, or eny other that I have yet sene made vpon that Sowthern haven mowth, the beste that can be hoped is a drye harboroughe for fysher-boates, wth enterance verye scrupulous, and that enterance myssed, nothing but death certaine. And all possibility taken away without extreme charge afterward to make that Mole, w^{ch} this realme were better geue a million, then wante. And albeit I could deliuer a greate number of sondry foormes of platts, to make very good and sure harboroughes yf yt pleased yo^r mat^y without respecte of charge to raize waulles and make baies, where I wold appointe, yet, considering the charge is a thinge more especially to be regarded ; in all my plattes I take hold of all suche foundacons allreadie laid, as any way may be ymployed to serue the turne, and soe dispose y^e scituacions allreadie laid, as any way may be ymployed to serue the turn, and soe dispose y^e scituacion of my longe bayes as they are made, and all the chanells allso scowred wth lesse charge then the clensinge only of the haven in the Flemmysh platte would cost, as by conference of the plattes theselues mooste evidently shall appeare.

*A Computacion of the Charge
of Dover Haven after the other Platt with
Baies of Piled Case Woorke.*

The longe Baye that leadeth from the haven mowthe to the towne, cannot eny way bee soe good cheape made by ten thousand poundes as by that forme of Baies compacte of oaze, beach and chaulke, w^{ch} I have allredy declared.

The other Jutties and Bayes w^{ch} I have wished to be made of stoane, all, save the damhed, w^{ch} muste needes be of stoane, may better chepe and very substantially allso be made of piled case worke, ramforced wth crosse stone, the least a foote thicke without planckes, as at Flusshinge, may bee sene, where thay indure greater radge of sea then at Douer.

These piles must be 10 or 12 inches grosse, and 25 or 30 fote longe, placed on ether side not 6 ynches distant one from another at the foote of the Baye, thes rancks of piles shalbe a rodd distante, but at the topp they shall not bee 12 foote at the moste a sunder. They muste be crosse bound bothe with longe beames and crosse beames, and allso crosse piled, w^{ch} kinde of work the Italians call *Palificata trauata*. It is of all other moste sure against the vyolence of the sea, and nothinge so chargeable as plancked worke to mayntayne.

In every rodd of length on ether side muste bee 12 piles of a foote or somewhat lesse grosse, which, at 30 foote in length will amounte vnto about 14 lode of tymber, the said beames and crosse beames, together with the crosse rancks of pile, will require in every rodd ten lodes more, so will the whole tymber to performe a rodd of this worke cost at the place about 20l.

li.

20

The

DOVER HAVEN.

253

The workmanship in making and rearing the frame, and pay for laborers to fetch stoeane, fill and ramforce the frame, together with the yron for boltes and armyng of the piles, will coste nighe asmutche more, and so every rodd fynished will coste 40l.

li.
40

The MOLE.

In the whole Mole, together with y^e blackbulw^{rk} there is 80 rodd, the wth at 40l. a rodd will amounte vnto nighe 3000l.

li.
3000

The charges of the Damhed to be made all of stone, w^t Slucs and Fludgats, as appearith by former accompts, will amount vnto nighe 3000l.

li.
3000

All the other Jutties and Bayes to be made of piled case worke will not be above 100 rod, at 40l. the rodd, 4000l.

li.
4000

The double bay to be made of oaze, beache, and chaulke, artificially coched in due forme and propor^{con} of a sea bay being not aboue 150 rod longe, at 20 marks the rod, amounteth vnto 2000l.

li.
2000

The ledge of rocks hereafter to be sonken at the Molehed 15 or 16 rodd in lengthe, raized aboue the lowe water by tuñes and tñboates, maye coaste 1000l.

li.
1000

SUMMA

SUM̃A SUM̃ARUM.

13200l.

One of my later plattes hath a middle bay more then the other, but considering it abideth not eny pente or burden of water yt will not cost'haulfe the charge of y^e other bay, neverthelesse for that and certaine side fludgates (as at Sluce in Flaunders are vsed) which are in y^e platt more then in my other, I allowe 1800l. as the vtmost some y^e will cost more then the other, and so will the charge of that second platte be 15000l. - -

li.
15000



View of Redmore Rectory

XXI. *Account of Bicknacre Priory, in Essex. In a Letter addressed to the Earl of Leicester, President of the Society of Antiquaries. By John Henniker Major, Esq. M. A. F. A. S. F. R. S. M. P.*

Read March 7, 1793.

MY LORD,

I Have the honour to present to the Society of Antiquaries, for their acceptance, two stained drawings of the North and South views of Bicknacre, Bickenacre, or Bykenacre Priory, in the county of Essex; and I feel particular pleasure in addressing to your Lordship this rough sketch of its foundation and history, as it bears no inconsiderable relation to the family of Ferrars, from which you are the lineal descendant.

This priory is situated on the confines of the two parishes of Danbury and Woodham Ferrars. It has formerly borne the names of the priory of Wudcham, Wodeham, or Woodham Ferrars; and under these appellations have been granted most of the charters and privileges belonging to it. Some have supposed [a] that it lay in the parish of Danbury, and this circumstance has raised a doubt as to the identity of the priory under the different names of Woodham Ferrars, and Bicknacre.

The family of Ferrars having possession of that district from them to called [b], I think it probable that their estate

[a] Tanner, Not. Mon. pp. 129, 130.

[b] Domesday, Tit. Essex, p. 57.

might have included Bicknacre in whatever parish it might then have been, and the whole together might have taken the general term of Woodham Ferrars. Instances abound in the county of Essex of places called after their antient proprietors: such are Woodham Ferrars, Woodham Walter, Woodham Mortimer, Tollethunt Malger, Mauger, or Major, and many others [*c*]. If the Ferrars family had merely a seigniorial right over Bicknacre, it is well known, that for the most part, at the establishment of advowsons, the benefice or parish had the same boundaries with the manor. The present locality of the priory is, that the farm lies in the several parishes of Woodham Ferrars, and Danbury, with a small lot in that of Woodham Walter. Thus am I informed; and that the conventual domicil, now the farm-house, is in the parish of Woodham Ferrars; that the priory is exclusively a hamlet or vill of itself for highways and land-tax; that it is a hamlet to the above-named parishes for poor's rates, and is exempted from the payment, as well of tythes as of church-rates, to Woodham Ferrars. After all circumstances are considered, I cannot conceive that the house, or building, of the priory (whatever may have been the situation of a part of its demesnes), could have ever been in any other than the parish of Woodham Ferrars.

At any rate, the patent of the 27th of Henry the Sixth, in the library of the College of Arms, gives pregnant testimony of the identity of this priory, under its different denominations. This purports to be, “*Ampla confirmatio maner: terrar: et libertat: pro priore de Bykenacre, five de Wudeham, in com. Essex* [*d*].” Here then we see this priory, under its different names, expressly mentioned as one and the same place; a reason sufficiently strong to remove all doubt, although we

[*c*] *Domesday*, Tit. Essex, p. 86, *Morant*, &c.

[*d*] *Tanner*, ut supra.

cannot ascertain the period at which it changed its antient for its present denomination. This establishment, at least as a priory, like many other similar foundations, originated from the real or affected piety of king Henry the Second, after the death of Thomas Beckett [e]. About four or five years after that event, Maurice Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai was sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, two counties, till about 1657, under the care of the same sheriff [f]. He was indebted to Henry in considerable sums arising from the revenues of his bailiwick; from the payment of the greater part of which the king released him on condition that the money were applied to the completion of this priory. We find in Tanner a record extracted from the Great Roll, 22 Henry the Second, Rott. 1. a. 'Mauricius de Tiretai reddit compotum de CC et quatuor XXl. et VI s. et VIII d. Bl [ancis] de veteri firma de Essex et Hurtfordscira, de quibus attornatus fuit ad faciendam unam abbatiam; in thesauro C et V s. et X d. et in per donis per breve regis ipsi Mauricio CC et LXXV l. et IX d. Bl [ancis] pro ecclesia canonicorum de Wodeham, quæ a modo est dominica regis eleemosyna.'

The sheriff's account in the modern mode of computation, stood,

Indebted to the king	-	-	£.	s.	d.
			280	6	8
Per Contra.					
Paid into the Exchequer	£.	s.	10		
Priory of Wodeham	275	0	9		
			280	6	7
			£.	0	1

So that the account was then balanced between the king and the sheriff, except one penny, which may be a venial mistake in the transcriber

[e] Grose's Antiq. Pref. p. 60.

[f] Stat. 8 Eliz. c. 16.

This Priory was at first an hermitage, as early, at least, as 1156 [g], when Hugo, Monk of Westminster, a benefactor, was made abbot of Bury.

It was afterwards under the charter of king Henry the Second [h], erected into a priory of Black Canons, followers of St. Austin [i], and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, or, as others have it, to the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist.

We can best judge of the extent of its original endowment, by considering the charters of Henry II.

By a charter of this king, dated at Writtle, addressed to the bishop of London, and the justices, and sheriffs, and officers of the forest, and to all persons serving under him in the county of Essex, he granted this hermitage to frier Jordan, canon and hermit, and to his successors in frank almoign, for the worship of God, and St. John the Baptist, free from all claims of assarts within a limited time past, as it had been conveyed to him by Robert earl of Ferrars, William his son, and by Maurice Fitz Geoffrey.

And by another charter of the same king, dated at Westminster, reciting and confirming the gifts of benefactors to the abbey of St. John the Baptist at Wodeham, he confirms the lands and rents given by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai, being the equivalent of what was owing from him to the crown, namely, in Haningfield and in Ginga, four hides of land, of the fee of earl Warren; and in Lellings, one hide and one virgate, of the fee of Walter, the son of Robert; and from the same fee in Norton, half a hide; and in the same village, half a hide of the fee of Hamon Coc; and in Wodeham, of the fee of earl Ferrars, all the rent of Anulphus, which the same earl W. [probably Warren] conveyed, at the particular request

[g] Tanner.

[h] *Monasticon*, vol II. p. 294.

[i] *Newcourt*, vol. I. 468, vol II. 205, 206.

of Maurice, to the priory of St. John ; and in Hailested of the fee of Warren, forty acres of land ; and in Stodlega, of the fee of Gilbert de Munfichet, one carrucate of land, together with the mill of Twyford ; and forty shillings issuing from the land of Wlward Cuthbert, which Robert Blundus held in Wodeham ; and all that tenement of Eltenage, which Fulk de Blender conveyed to them upon the gift of Maurice, who held it of him ; and a coppice which Maurice held in Stodlega ; as well as a coppice in Fildernesfe wood, assigned by John de Duna to the said abbey ; as well as another coppice in Fildernesfe wood, belonging to Steple ; and so much of the coppice of Wodeham, as Maurice held in fee, as the way goes from Birchhache towards the East, on the North side of the rivulet which runs near the abbey, and as far as Fulebroc ; and so much of the coppice belonging to Maurice, lying in Wodeham, as is between the inclosure of the abbey, and the Earl's coppice.

By another charter of the same king, dated at Westminster, he confirms all the lands and rents given by Maurice to this priory. Also the site of the abbey, with all the coppice described in the charter of the said Maurice, and also St. Mary's church in Wodeham, in the same manner as is witnessed by the charter of Robert earl of Ferrars ; and in the same village, of the gift of Avicia, and of Roger Brito, his heir, all his rents with his coppice ; and in Steple, half the church of St. Mary ; and in the same village, a marsh, which was held by Edrick ; and also in Chetham, three solidates of land, the gift of Ranulph de Mind.

By the first of the above charters, dated at Writtle, then a royal residence, not many miles distant from Bickinacre, the hermitage was granted in frank almoign, and acquired the properties of a conventual body. The charter is addressed to the bishop of the see in which the priory was situated, as it

ecclesiastical superintendant; to the justices, as the king's ministers in civil concerns; to the sheriffs who received the revenues of the crown; and to the foresters, who, under the chief justice in Eyre, had the charge of carrying the forest laws into effect; offices which seem to embrace every point of view, in which either the interests of the crown, or of the mitre, could be considered.

As to the second charter, intituled, indeed, in the Monasticon, "A charter reciting and confirming the donation of Benefactors," it professes to be a confirmation of these endowments only by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai, in discharge of his debt; for, I believe it will be found, upon an attentive perusal of the charter, that, although other persons may have conveyed, it was, upon a valuable consideration, given to them by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai. The priory, late the hermitage, now takes a different name: it is called "Ecclesia" and "Abbasia;" both terms implying a common interest among several possessors.

The third charter was granted, as it seems, to confirm donations made to the priory by individuals. It particularizes the donation of St. Mary's church in Wodeham, by which the priory became exempted from the payment of tithes to that church.

It may be observed that the hermitage was liable to assarts [dues of the crown for forest lands grubbed up for culture], but that the royal charter expressly releases this new establishment from any future demands of that nature.

The hide, and carrucate, mentioned in the above charters are supposed each to be about one hundred and twenty acres, more or less, without any decisive computation. The virgate was the quarter of the hide. The solidate was a portion of land yielding in rent one shilling. The weight of money, as for instance, of a shilling, was three times heavier than at present, and the necessaries of life ten times as cheap.

Although

Although from the enumeration in the charters one cannot ascertain what was exactly the original endowment of the priory, some idea may be formed of the extent of its possessions. The site of the priory is granted by the first of these charters. The second confirms in land seven hides or carrucates, one virgate, and forty acres, making about 910 acres; forty shillings in rent, and also the rent of Anulphus; one mill, one tenement, and five coppices. The third confirms, in addition to the above, one advowson, and the moiety of another; the rent of Avicia de Brito, and three solidates of land.

Such was the state of the priory at or soon after its establishment.

Lord Barrington is said by Tanner to have had a chartulary of it in the year 1723, of which the following is the abstract.

Cart. 32 Henry III. m.

Cart. 39 Henry III. m. 6.

Pat. 3 Edward I. m. 28.

Pat. 13 Edward I. pro imparcatione LX acr. in Wodeham Ferrars et Danbury.

Pat. 19 Edward I. m.

Pat. 25 Edw. I. m. 20. de XC. acris terræ, cum pertinentiis in Wodeham Ferrars et Danbury, ex donationibus Rob. de Mapreshale, Johannis de Langhurst, et Johannis de Mulsho.

Pat. 11 Edward II. m. 1.

Claus. 15 Edward II. m. 39.

Esch. Essex, 17 Edward II. post mortem comitis Pembroke.

Cart. 6 Edward III. m. 44.

Pat. 10 Edward III. p. 2. m. 3. vel. 4.

Pat. 16 Richard II. p. 2. m. 11. de hosp. S. Ægidii Maldon huic cœnobio concessio.

Rec. in Scacc. 31 Hen. VIII. Trin. rot. 52.

By

By which it appears that it held 60 acres in Woodham Ferrars and Danbury formed into a park; 90 more in the same parishes given by different benefactors, and that the hospital of St. Giles at Little Malden, founded by some of our kings, was granted to this priory by Richard II. but by Edward IV. united to Bileigh abbey [k].

From Dr. Hutton's Collection, Newcourt thus speaks of the priors of Bicknacre.

'*Ranulphus*, who is the first prior I meet with, died about 21 Henry III. for that king granted his licence to chuse his successor, as void by his death, March 27, 1237. Pat. 21 Henry III. m. 10.

'*Andreas*, the sub-prior, was chosen April 5, following, (ibid. m. 9.) and voided it by cession about 39 Henry III. for the king thereupon granted his licence for the brethren to go to a new election [Pat. 39 Henry III. m. 9.].

'*Johannes de Sancto Edmundo*, late prior of Lefnes in Kent, was elected prior of the house, to whom the king restored the temporalities 12 November, 1268. [Pat. 53 Hen. III. m. 28.] He voided this priory by cession about three years after; for the king granted his licence for a new election about May 20, 1272, [Pat. 56 Hen. III.]

'*Radulphus de Dunham* succeeded, to whose election the king gave his royal assent June 3, following. [Ibid.]. He voided this priory by death about 1. Edward I.

'*William de Bilburgham* was elected prior of this house, to whose election the king gave his royal assent, and directed his letters to H. (i. e. Henry de Sandwich, bishop of London) dated April 5, 1273. [Pat 1. Ed. I.] He voided this priory by death about 10 Ed. I. and the king granted his licence for a new choice Dec. 38, 1281.

* *Alan de Barking*, to whom the temporalities were delivered by virtue of the king's mandate to the sheriff of Essex for that purpose, dated Feb. 18 following. [Ibid.] This Alan enjoyed the office of prior about six years, and died; and the king granted his licence for a new election October the 14th, 1288.

* *Benedictus de Roffen*, to whose election the king gave his royal assent Nov. 8, and delivered the temporalities about the 25th following. [Pat. 17. Ed. I.] After he had been prior about 12 years, he voided that place by death about 29 Ed. I.

* *Robert de Blakenham* was elected by virtue of the king's licence, dated Dec. 13, 1300, [Pat. 39 Edw. I.] to whose election the king gave his royal assent, and restored his temporalities Jan. 10 following. [Ibid.] He sat prior here about fourteen years, and then resigned. The king granted his licence for the choice of a successor Feb. 8, 1314. [Pat. 8 Ed. II.]

* *Robert de Ramfden*, to whose election the king gave his assent Feb. 10, and restored the temporalities March 4 following, [Ibid.] which, after he had enjoyed it about six years, he resigned. The king granted his licence for electing a successor Jan. 20, 1320. [Pat. 14. Ed. II. p. 2.]

* *Mathias de Grafton*, alias *Langeton*, to whose election the king gave his assent the 27th of the same month and year. [Ibid.] He sat prior about three years, and then died; and the king granted a licence for choosing his successor March 6, 1313. [Pat. 17 Ed. II. p. 2.]

* *Reginald de Theydon*, to whom the king restored the temporalities June 18, 1325. [Pat. 18 Ed. II. p. 2.] He sat prior here about twenty-six years, and then voided it by cession, upon which the king granted his licence for electing a successor March 7, 1340. [Pat. 15 Ed. III. p. 1.]

‘*Radulph de Chisbull*, to whose election the king gave his assent on the 14th of the same month and year [ibid.]. He sat prior here about twenty years, and then voided it by his death.

‘*William de Purle*, to whose election the king gave his assent on the 2d, and restored his temporalities on the 18th of December 1361. [Pat. 35 Ed. III. p. 3] He sat prior here about thirteen years, and then died.

‘*John de Thaxted*, to whose election made by virtue of the king’s licence, dated the 6th, the king gave his assent on the 11th, and restored the temporalities the 14th of November 1375. [Pat. 49 Ed. III. p. 2.] He sat prior about eleven years, and then died.

‘*John Gosfield*, a canon of this house, was chosen to succeed, to whose election the king gave his assent June 15, [Pat. 9 Rich. II. p. 2,] which was confirmed by the bishop July 28, 1386. [Reg. Braybroke 281.] He sat prior here about ten years, and then died.

‘*William Wincheffer*, a canon also of this house, was elected, by virtue of the king’s licence, August 21, 20 Richard II. 1396, to whose election the king gave his assent Sept. the 17th following, and it was confirmed presently afterwards by Thomas Stow, LL. D. vicar-general to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, who was then in the parts beyond seas. [Reg. Braybroke, 302.]

‘*Edmund Goding*,’ [longo proximus intervallo,] ‘was the last prior of this house, upon whose death, about the latter end of the reign of king Henry VII. this priory was united and appropriated to the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate. London.’ Thus much for Newcourt’s account of priors.

From the time of Richard the Second till the reign of Henry the Seventh, we find little or nothing of the priory of Bicknacre, except the patent of Henry the Sixth already mentioned

mentioned. It was a period engrossed by the fierce contention between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. In the twenty-second year of king Henry the Seventh, the priory now grown poor was almost forsaken [*m*], and upon being annexed to St. Mary's Spital without Bishopsgate, London, four hundred pounds were paid to the king for his licence of mortmain. At this time its possessions, as appears from an inquisition taken upon the death of Edmund Goding, the last prior, were [*n*], the manor of 'Bicknacre, and thirty messuages, three hundred acres of 'arable, forty of meadow, sixty of wood, five hundred of 'pasture, sixty-two of marsh, and 5*l.* yearly rent, with a 'court-leet and view of frank pledge, in Woodham Ferrars, 'Danbury, Norton, Steple, Chelmsford, Mayland, [*o*] Stow, 'East and West Haningfield, Purle, Burnham, Downham, and 'others, reckoned worth 40*l.* 10*s.* per annum,' which, weight of coin and price of provision considered, is somewhat more than 300*l.* per annum, as to the present value. Perhaps it may not be amiss to observe, that the number of acres specified is 962, which, subtracting 62 acres of wood, (not specified in the charters of Henry the Second,) leaves 900, nearly the amount of the first endowment; but whether it be the same land does not appear. It would be curious if we could trace whether the rent of 40*s.* mentioned in one of the charters of Henry II. arose from the same land as that now producing 5*l.*; from the different value of money, and improvement in agriculture, it does not seem improbable.

But to proceed: the former possessions of this priory must have been considerable, as it is stated to be now [22 Hen. VII.]

[*m*] Tanner and Morant.

[*n*] Morant.

[*o*] Little Bicknacre, alias Bicknacre barns, in Mayland, were granted 1589 to Robert Wroth and William Wiseman. Morant, vol. i. p. 361.

grown poor ; and indeed at the death of Goding, the last prior, there was only one frier remaining.

At the general dissolution of monasteries, this priory was granted [?] as part of the possessions of St. Mary's Spital, to Henry VIII. By him it was sold, in 1548, to Sir Walter Mildmay, and from his family it passed to George Barrington, Esq. about the year 1654. It came afterwards to John Shute, Esq. who took the name of Barrington, and from him it descended to William Wildman Barrington, the late lord viscount Barrington.

The priory was purchased from Lord Barrington by John Strutt, Esq. of Terling Place, in the county of Essex, who is the present Lord of the manor : but he sold the priory farm to Mr. Tomlinson, by whom it was sold to Mr. Brett. Thomas Metcalfe, Esq. afterwards bought it of Mr. Brett ; since which it has been purchased by Sir John Henniker, Bart. of Newton Hall, and Stratford House, both in the county of Essex.

Within the building of this priory is still remaining a considerable portion of the chapel, in which are the painted figures of saints, with sentences issuing from their mouths. Twenty years ago, as I am told, the words were legible. I endeavoured to trace their meaning in their present state, but without effect. The antient kitchen is provided with a chimney and hearth of ample magnitude.

I say nothing of the exterior of the building, which is best represented by the drawing, Pl. XIII.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful,

*Portman Square,
Feb. 14, 1793.*

and very obedient servant,

JOHN HENNIKER MAJOR.
[?] Tanner

XXII. Me-

XXII. *Memoir on the Origin of Printing. Addressed to John Topham, Esq. F. R. and A. SS. By Ralph Willett, Esq. F. R. and A. SS.*

DEAR SIR,

YOUR favourable, though perhaps partial, opinion of the following Memoir on the subject of the origin of printing, as also that of another able and respectable friend belonging to our Society, incline me to hope for the indulgence of it in presenting it to their perusal.

After what had been written by Dr. Middleton and Dr. Ducarel concerning the Lambeth MSS. I little expected the subject would have been revived by such respectable writers as Mr. Meerman, and Messrs. Bowyer and Nichols : the latter, indeed, little more than transcribe, for I can hardly call it copy, the sentiments of the former ; however, as they possess a considerable rank in literature, and explain and strengthen, as far as they are able, the arguments of the other writer, they are well entitled to the observations I shall attempt to make on what they have written.

I do this the more willingly, as I believe their little tract is the only one that hath been written in the English language since the time of Palmer. The size of their book, as well as their reputation, hath induced the generality of English readers to rest satisfied with what they have said on a subject they perhaps do not feel themselves deeply interested in. It would have been fairer to have stated the arguments used in the con-

futation of those urged by the writers for Harlem, as well as those that *seem* to make for their advantage.

This hath been done, with honour to himself, by Meerman ; if the reader makes a false judgement on the result, he is only to blame himself: Meerman hath furnished him with the means of making a right one, though prejudice, in favour of his own country, hath prevented him from doing it for himself.

Though it may not be necessary to repeat all that Middleton hath urged, it may be so in regard to the observations of Ducarel ; some of them are new, and could not occur to Middleton, as he wrote some time before the appearance of Ducarel's letter to Meerman[a]. If I am able to add any thing of my own, I shall think myself happy As I am convinced myself, that this pretended MS. at Lambeth hath misled both Meerman and Bowyer, as they seem to rely very much on it to support the claims of Harlem ; in endeavouring to complete the destruction of all credit to it, I shall weaken the fabrick, by withdrawing the corner-stone from it.

Here follows the supposed Lambeth Record, as given by Maittaire, from Atkins's book.

“ The original and growth of printing, collected out of *history*, and the records of this *kingdom*, wherein it is also demonstrated, that printing appertaineth to the *prerogative royal*, and is a flower of England ; by Richard Atkins, Esq. Whitehall, April 25, 1664. By order and appointment of the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Morrice.

“ Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, moved the then king, (Henry the Sixth,) to use all possible means for procuring a printing *mold* (for so it was called then) to be brought into this kingdom. The king (a good man, and

[a] First printed in Mr. Nichols's Supplement to the Origin of Printing, 1781.

much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion ; and, taking private advice how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons as would draw off the workmen from *Harlem*, in *Holland*, where *John Guttenberg* had newly *invented* it, and was himself *personally* at work. It was resolved that less than 1000 marks would not produce the desired effect, towards which sum the said *archbishop* presented the king 300 marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the design was committed to Mr. Robert Tournour, who then was of the robes to the king, and a person most in favour with him of any of his condition. Mr. Tournour took to his assistance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who, trading much into *Holland*, might be a creditable pretence as well for his going as stay in the Low Countries. Mr. Tournour was in disguise, his beard and hair shaven quite off; but Mr. Caxton appeared known and public ; *they* having received the said sum of 1000 marks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter *Harlem* itself ; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned and apprehended divers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose. They staid till they had spent the whole 1000 marks in gifts and expences, so as the king was obliged to send 500 marks more, Mr. Tournour having written to the king that he had almost done his work ; a bargain, as he said, betwixt him and two *Hollanders*, for bringing off one of the workmen, who should sufficiently discover and teach this new art. At last, with much-a-do, they got off one of the *underworkmen*, whose name was Frederick Corfellis, or Courfellis, who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a vessel prepared before for that purpose, and so, the wind favouring the ship, brought

brought him safe to London. It was not thought so prudent to set him on work at London; but, by the archbishop's means, who had been vice-chancellor of the University of Oxon, Corfellis was carried with a guard to Oxford, which guard constantly watched to prevent Corfellis from any possible escape, till he had made good his promise in teaching how to print; so that, at Oxford, printing was first set up in England before there was any printing-press in France, Italy, or Germany, except the city of *Mentz*, which claims seniority of printing, even of Harlem itself, calling her city *Urbem Moguntinam, Artis Typographicæ inventricem primam*, though 'tis known to be otherwise, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it *at home of his brother*, and after set up for himself at *Mentz*."

It is said, though the record doth not state it, that this journey of Caxton and Tournour was performed in the year 1459: probably it was not sooner; for the invention of the art was not known even in France, though so much nearer to *Mentz*, till the reign of Charles the Eighth, or the beginning of that of Louis the Eleventh, as appears from the authorities quoted by Salier, vol. XIV. p. 229, Acad. des Inscriptions, and mentioned by me in a former memoir presented by me to the Society.

Communications between the several countries of Europe were, in that early period, few and slow; knowledge was confined to the confessedly learned; and journeymen shoemakers, &c. had not been taught to thunder out Philippicks that rival Demosthenes; the knowledge of this great invention, the discovery of printing, therefore, could not reach ✓ England sooner, if so soon, as 1459.

Now it may be observed that Caxton was not in England in 1459. Bowyer himself, p. 11, allows that he was out of England

England from 1441 to 1471; a considerable part of which time he was busied in learning the art of printing, as he says himself; he must, therefore, have been in the neighbourhood of Harlem, (for it was in the Netherlands that he resided,) at the very time in which the art is said to be invented there; and yet, though very express in relating the invention of it at Mentz, he says not a word of its *prior* discovery, though very important, at Harlem.

To answer this difficulty, Meerman says, that this silence of Caxton is not to be wondered at in relation to his journey to Harlem, any more than his silence with regard to his own introduction of the art into England. What relation have those two cases to each other? Caxton's Polychronicon ends in 1460; the introduction of the art into England by him (if he did introduce it, which I doubt) was not till about 1474. To give strength to this answer, the Polychronicon should have come down to that year at least, before the two cases could influence each other [b].

But the point now contested is not whether Caxton introduced the art into England; it may be allowed to Bowyer that he did not, and yet the suspicion, of the Lambeth MS. being a forgery, be no way lessened by it.

I confess, with respect to myself, I do not believe that Caxton did introduce it, and am inclined to think that the letter signed Oxonides, though very severe on the Lambeth MS. in calling it an *idle* story, contains the most probable account of its introduction; it may, therefore, be proper, if I do not too much trespass on the patience of the Society, to give as much of it as relates to this point; it appeared, as Mr. Bowyer says, in the Weekly Miscellany, April 26, 1735, soon after Dr. Middleton had published his little tract [c].

[b] Bowyer, p. 9.

[c] Ibid. p. 24.

I think

I think the learned author has sufficiently exposed the idle story of Frederick Corfellis, and entirely concur with him in rejecting it; but when he compliments Caxton with the name of our first printer, notwithstanding the authority of a book printed at Oxford, and dated in the year 1468, I cannot go so far with him. We should not pretend to set aside the authority of a *plain date*, without very strong and cogent reasons; and I am afraid what the Doctor has in this case advanced will not appear, on examination, to carry that weight with it that he seems to imagine. There may be, and have been, mistakes and forgeries in the date both of books and records too; but this is never allowed as a reason for suspecting such as bear no mark of either; we cannot, from a blunder in the last book printed at Cambridge, infer the like blunder in the first book printed at Oxford; besides, the type used in this our Oxford edition seems to be no small proof of its antiquity; it is the German letter, and very nearly the same with that used by Fust, (who has been supposed) the first printer; whereas Caxton and Rood use a quite different letter, something between this German and our old English letter, which was soon after introduced by De Worde and Pynson; lastly, the supposed year of this edition is much about the time that the printers at Mentz dispersed and carried the art of printing with them to most parts of Europe. This circumstance, joined to that of the letter, inclines me to think that *one of these printers might then come over to England, and follow his profession at Oxford.*

Although very unwilling to take any merit from our own country, I must not suffer that partiality which I condemn in Meerman to mislead me; I must therefore give up the pretensions of Caxton, who never printed before 1474, and concur with Oxonides, as there are too many proofs of this early
disperſion

disperſion of the printers to be withſtood ; the Lactantius printed in 1465 at Subiaco ; the St. Auſtin, printed in the ſame monaſtery, near Rome, probably by Sweynheim, in 1467 ; another tract of St. Auſtin, at Cologne, in 1467, by Zell ; another book in 1468, at Tours, in France ; the Bible by Bemler at Augſbourg, in 1466 ; and many by Spire, at Venice, in 1469 ; ſeveral by Sweynheim, at Rome, in 1468 ; are ſuch teſtimonies of this early diſperſion as render it not improbable that ſome of them might attempt a ſettlement in England, at a time when ſuch a munificent prince as Edward the Fourth filled the throne, and the nation was in perfect tranquillity ; ſome of theſe migrations were probably even earlier ; for, beſides the ſtrong reaſons for ſuppoſing a preſs at Harlem in 1459, Mr. Meerman [c] allows of one at Frankfort in 1459, by a workman of Fuſt ; he ſays, *Joannes Peterſheim, miniſter Fuſti & Schoefferi, erexit Francofurti officinam typographicam, 1459.*

But the ſilence of Caxton himſelf in his numerous and diſfuſed Colophons (for he ſeems to be a loquacious though modeſt writer in whatever concerns himſelf) is a conſiderable argument that he did not claim the honour of this introduction of the art into England. Fabian, who was a cotemporary with Caxton, and mentions expreſſly the invention at Mentz ; as likewiſe Aldridge, from Anſtis's Black book of the Garter, though he ſpeaks in the ſame manner with relation to the ſame city, ſays not a word of Caxton's bringing the art to England. Why then ſhould we be wiſer at this remote period of time in giving this honour to Caxton, when it doth not appear that he ever claimed it himſelf ? Ducarel adduces a new and ſtrong proof againſt this MS ; he ſays, that in Archbiſhop Parker's Antiquities of the Britiſh Church,

There is this MS note, written, probably, by the archbishop himself, concerning Bouchier.

“ His temporibus (viz. Tho. Bouchieri) illa utilissima cunctandi atque imprimendi libros scientia, Argentorati, Germaniæ civitate, inventa est; etsi de authoris, loci, annique, certa veritate, inter scriptores magna dissentio est, quam perpendant lectores [*d*].”

If Bouchier had taken such a great part in the introduction of the art into England, was it not natural that the archbishop should observe it in this note? If the MS. was known to him, would he not have used it to give credit, not only to Bouchier, but to the see itself over which he presided? It must have been at Lambeth at this time, viz. 1572, for it was there, according to Atkins, so late as 1664 [*e*].

But, farther, Godwin de Præfulibus Angliæ [*f*], says, that Bouchier did nothing remarkable during such a long period as thirty-two years that he filled the See of Canterbury, except giving 120l. as a fund for supplying the wants of poor scholars occasionally, and leaving 100 books to the University. There are two registers of Bouchier's transactions during this period at Lambeth, which Godwyn examined carefully; surely if the archbishop had been so instrumental in bringing over the art to England, he could not be said to have done nothing remarkable, especially as it appears he was in some degree a lover of learning, by leaving that fund and those books for promoting it; some mention of this extraordinary part of his life must have occurred; and yet, none is found in the registers.

In 1642 Ducarel states that the great question, between the king's prerogative of licensing books and the Stationers

[*d*] Ducarel, p. 188.

[*e*] Bowyer, p. 18.

[*f*] Edit. Richardson, p. 129.

company, took place; Prynne, at that time a member of parliament, was one of those who were employed to investigate and report to the house the result of their enquiry. Prynne, after mentioning his authorities, proceeds to say; "Ex his testimoniis colligo artem imprefforiam inventam fuisse in Germania circa annum 1440, publicatam et exercitam circa annum 1450." If this treasure had been known, Prynne could not have been ignorant of it; it must have been brought forward on this occasion, for it was then at Lambeth; in 1665 Sir John Birkenhead had a copy of it; but, not satisfied with that, he inspected the original, then in the custody of archbishop Sheldon, but, not finding it sufficient to *prove what Atkins had cited it for, made no report of the MS. to the house*. These are Bowyer's own words, p. 18.

What could he cite it for, but to prove the king's prerogative, from a king's introduction of the art at his own expence? If the story of Caxton and Tournour's journey was true, the MS. must have mentioned it, and so have established the prerogative: if no such account appeared in it, Atkins was guilty of the most impudent and unprofitable forgery ever known, except Lauder's and Rowley's in our own times; and the MS. can have no weight in this enquiry; but, perhaps, he did not expect that his book would have had such a serious enquiry into it.

If he had not depended on a more implicit belief, he should have mentioned who the honourable person was that supplied him with the account of the MS; he must know that he was to contradict the universally-received opinion at that time that Caxton brought it into England; it became therefore necessary to give all the weight he could to this *new* account of its introduction; the honourable person could not be

hurt by the mention of his name, and the MS. would certainly have been benefited by this reference to another authority.

With respect to the signatures, which Middleton gives, perhaps, too much importance to, I must allow that they are a fallacious guide; for, though Zarot is said to be the first inventor of them in his Terence at Milan in 1470, he certainly did not continue to use them; for, in his beautiful edition of Horace at that place in 1474, there are *no signatures*, nor are they in the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores* by Lavagnia in 1475, at the same place. Whenever they might be invented, they were slowly adopted, for I have no book with them sooner than Juniani Maii de proprietate verborum priscorum, printed at Naples by Moravus in 1475. Jenfon's Bible at Venice in 1476, hath them for the first time; and several others about that time employed them; but, that Zarot did not invent them for the first time in 1470 is proved by the Oxford book in 1468, which hath them. They were late in making their way into England. Caxton in his *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* in 1477 hath them not; but they appear in his *Myrrour of the World* in 1480; and seem to have been employed always afterwards by him. I have four ancient Missals, in which there are no signatures, and I am pretty certain there are none in the celebrated one belonging to the late Dutchess of Portland. There are none in the *Speculum*, either the Latin or Belgic edition; and, though they are found in the *Biblia Pauperum*, they seem to have been put there only to direct the arrangement of the *prints*, as they are placed only in an obscure part of them. I certainly have not seen so great a number of Missals and MSS. as these gentlemen have had opportunities of doing; their account may therefore be right, : I chuse to confine myself to such as I have really seen *myself*, in which I find no signatures; but I must

must allow the use or omission are not conclusive, although *De Laar*, and other eminent Bibliographers, lay great stress on them for ascertaining books without dates or printers names.

But, before I quit this unfortunate success of the MS. in proving any judicial enquiry, I must observe, that, in three years after this miscarriage in Prynne's affair, a suit was instituted in the King's Bench, by the Company of Stationers, against the University of Cambridge, for printing books; the Lambeth MS. was again brought forward by the former; but rejected by the bench, who would not suffer it to be urged, as it rested *only on the credit of Mr. Atkins*; what was become of the MS. itself, as this seems to imply that only Atkins's account of it was offered, and that doubted?

But the strongest objection to this book being printed by Corfellis is, that it is said to be printed on wooden types or blocks, the only mode, he says, then used at Harlem. If he rests his faith on this foundation, he should have taken care to see the book. Mr. Herbert, who hath continued Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, not only saw it, but examined it carefully, and hath given a fac simile of the Colophon, declares not only on his own authority, but that of the most eminent printers to whom he shewed it, that it is printed with the *single separate metal* type, and not on wooden blocks; and if we may rely on the fac simile exhibited by him, we may safely add that it is performed with as beautiful a type as any we know from the most celebrated printer of that age. But, now the wooden types are mentioned, may I be allowed to say, with Heineken, that the time may come, when the writers on this subject will be ashamed to insist on them? there is no mention of them in Schoeffer's account to Trithemius. *He* only talks of wooden blocks. *Wooden* types must be too weak, under any management, to bear the press, and must be soon broken; they

could

could not bear washing and cleaning, they must *swell* with the moisture, and *shrink* in drying, and so never preserve their true shape and form for any time. We know, indeed, that they were attempted, but soon abandoned; and no *entire* book was, probably, ever printed with them. The notion of the *Fuso-sculpti*, so eagerly taken up by Meerman, seems to me to be still more absurd; and I am surprized that Bowyer and Nichols, eminent printers themselves, and therefore competent to have corrected Meerman in such an extravagant idea, should countenance and support him in it; I will venture to pronounce it *impossible*.

The Lambeth MS. is certainly of consequence to Meerman; for, slender as the authority is, it is the only one from which we can infer there were two Guttenbergs, printers; an advantage he makes use of. But how is it to be inferred? Caxton and Tournour were sent to Harlem, where *John Guttenberg* had newly invented the art, and was himself personally at work. The MS. proceeds to say, Mentz gained the art by the *brother* of one of the *workmen* of Harlem, who had learnt it at home of his *brother*, and afterwards set up for himself at Mentz; a pretty foundation to build two Guttenbergs upon, sen^r and jun^r. This statement is rather perplexed. But there should be three Guttenbergs; for *John Guttenberg* had then *newly invented* the art *as master*, which, it seems, one of his *workmen* knew before himself. It should be noted that poor Coster comes in for no share of the honour, though it was at Harlem he had these correspondences with the woodland nymphs of the groves about that place, not twenty-five years before. It is not even said this workman was *brother* to John Guttenberg, or that his name was the same, though it would have given some weight to the account. Caxton was joined with Tournour, because he was known to have traded
much

much into Holland, which might be a creditable *pretence* as well for his going as stay in the Low Countries. If, therefore, Tournour was afraid to trust himself in Harlem, notwithstanding his disguise of *shaving his beard and his hair*, both of which must soon grow again, there was no reason to restrain Caxton, who was to appear *public and known*, from entering the town, and managing the design himself on the spot, much better than by communicating the secret of their journey to so many people as they were obliged to bribe and employ in it. It was fortunate that such considerable sums as they expended did not alarm the jealousy of a people so attentive to prevent the art from being known. The opinion that there were two Guttenbergs doth not seem to be proved from this indistinct and conjectural account. I know of no other; and therefore cannot make the silence of all our English historians, Fabian, Hollinshed, Stow, Baker, and Caxton, about it, prove that the author must have had his *information from one who took it from the most authentic documents*. I should rather think this silence in these historians affords a contrary inference; and that we still very much want some of these *authentic documents* [g].

Middleton had urged the improbability of this journey taking place when the king's affairs were in such a dangerous state that he might be said to be fighting for his crown against the Duke of York. Mr. Meerman, Bowyer, and Nichols, answer this objection, by saying, that, notwithstanding this dangerous state, Henry the Sixth was able to attend to his two great establishments of Eton college, and King's college, at Cambridge. They must certainly know that the king's affairs were in a very different state in 1441, when these noble establishments took place; when every thing was quiet, his situation prosperous, and suited to such great business, from

[g] Bowyer, p. 5.

that

that which it was in in 1459, while the civil war was raging with such violence as ended in the loss of his crown to Edward early in 1461 [b].

Surely those great erections cannot be said to have been made *during all his troubles*, as they were performed in 1441.

We know that Henry's queen, who began Queen's college 1448, a considerable time after 1441, was obliged to relinquish her design on account of these troubles, though then only beginning, and not so formidable as they proved afterwards: such a sum as 1500 marks would have been more wanted for the support of his war in 1459 than for the uncertain introduction of this new art, however considerable, into England.

But to resume the subject of the two Guttenbergs. De Boze was puzzled about it, as Guttenberg is sometimes called by that name simply, and at other times he is styled *Geinsfleisch*. This difficulty occasioned his writing to Shoefflin, at Strasburg. He returned him an account of his authorities that cleared it up; they are from the ancient registers of the chapter-house in the collegiate church of St. Thomas in that city, and seem to be attestations to a conveyance, in which Guttenberg is a witness; "Joannes dictus Gensfleisch, *alias* nuncupatus Guttenberg de Moguntia, Argentinæ commorantes, et strenuus vir Rutholdus de Ramstein, miles." The second attestation is to another deed, and begins thus: "Joannes dictus Gensfleisch, *alias* Guttenberg de Moguntia;" the first attestation is found in the volume marked B, fol. 293, and dated the 25th of March, 1441; the second in the same volume, fol. 302, dated 17th November 1442; it is apparent that Gensfleisch and Guttenberg were two names of the same man [i].

[b] Bowyer, p. 8.

[i] Acad. des Inscrip. Vol. XIV. p. 229.

If we should admit the authenticity of this MS. what are we to think of the long interval from 1459 to 1468, before the nation derived any benefit from this introduction of the art into England? What became of Corfellis after his settlement at Oxford? Are we to be satisfied with this single performance? In the case of Caxton we find a continued series of printing by him; after he began to print, we find a succession of printers bred under him, exercising and diffusing the art; shall we think that a man, brought into England for the express purpose of printing, and teaching to print, should have been so unfortunate, as to leave no other memorial of his diligence, except this one instance; no scholars bred under him? for the book at St. Albans in 1480 discovers a type like Caxton's, and very different, though printed with fusile metal types, from those in the Oxford book in 1468. This I say positively, as I have the former book, and have examined it. Mr. Bowyer obviates this by saying, that, if we consider that the Oxford printer met with small encouragement, printed probably but *few* books, and *did not put his name* to them, it is no wonder that his name and memory should be soon lost; nor is it surprising that Caxton should run away with the credit of being the first printer, who lived many years in great repute, printed a considerable number of books, and flourished in the sunshine of a court. Where do they learn that Corfellis printed so few books, &c.? I am ashamed to trespass so much on the patience of any reader, in giving the whole of Bowyer's apology for this long silence; but, if I had not done it, I question if I should have been credited in giving a part of it only. What, did Caxton flourish in the sunshine of a court, and Corfellis not? Corfellis brought over, at the expence and order of a prince himself, of an archbishop of Canterbury, who lived twenty-three years after he was brought over,

who had the advantage of being so many years earlier than Caxton, when it would have been thought early even on the Continent, when the art must have excited more admiration and curiosity than Caxton could expect, who came fifteen years after him? when such powerful patrons interested themselves in his success? and, though probably some of the books printed by him have been lost, we cannot allow all of them, but this one book, to have experienced this misfortune, when we see such a regular and numerous series of these printed by Caxton have reached our times.

The reader hath now had the reasons of my suspecting that this MS. is a mere fable; they are, at least many of them, those mentioned by other writers in this dispute; but have they been answered? Confident assertions are not answers; it is to connect into one view all that hath been written about it, that I unite them; though my own opinion, which I do not wish to intrude on any person, when they have examined what hath been now offered, is, that this story of Corfellis resembles very much that of Junius, about Harlem and Coster; both of them fabricated at remote periods from the origin of the art, neither of them heard of till a Dutchman's vanity in favour of his own country, and a worse motive in an Englishman, brought them forth.

JUNIUS'S Account.

“Cornelii bibliopecti, quondam famuli Laurentii Jo. fil. Harlemensis, testimonium de heri sui inventionibus; quod fervavit *Hadr. Junius* in Batavia, p. 253, seq. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1588, 4to.

“Redeo ad urbem nostram (Harlemum), cui primam inventæ isthæ artis typographicæ gloriam deberi, et summo jure afferendam

rendam aio, utpote propriam et nativam : sed luminibus nostris sola officit inveterata illa et quæ encausti modo inscripta est animis opinio, tam altis innixa radicibus, quas nulli ligones, nulli cunei, nulla rutra revellere aut eruere valeant ; qua pertinaciter credunt, et persuasissimum habent apud Magontiacum claram et vetustam Germaniæ urbem primo repertas literarum formulas quibus excuderentur libri. Utinam hic incredibilem illam dicendi vim, quæ in Carneade fuisse perhibetur, voto exoptare possem, qui nihil defendisse unquam quod non probarit, nihil oppugnasse quod non everterit, dicitur ; ut saltem refugam illam laudem postliminio revocare, et hoc quasi trophæum erigere possem veri interpolator : quod ego non alio optarim, quam ut veritas rectè à poeta vetere temporis filia nuncupata, aut (ut ego soleo) χρόνῳ ἐλεγχος, tandem detegatur, quæque juxta Democritum, altissimo in puteo demersa hæctenus delituit, in apertum profertur. Si gloriosum certamen suscipere non piguit Ægyptios et Phœnicas de literarum inventione, his Deo duce earum inventum ad se trahentibus, quando tabulas θεοχαρακτες, hoc est, a Deo exaratas jactant ; illis a se repertas Græciæ intulisse gloriantibus, quando Cadmus Phœnicum classe vectus, rudibus Græcorum populis artis illius auctor, eas commonstravit. Rursus si Athenienses Cecropi suo, Thebani Lino, eandem laudem vindicant : Palamedi Argivo excogitatorum characterum gloriam Tacitus et Philostratus deferunt : ut Hyginus Latinorum Carmentæ Evandri matri. Si itaque controversam dubiamque gloriam cunctæ gentes ad se ceu propriam rapere non erubuerunt, quid vetat quo minus indubitandæ laudis possessionem, de qua per socordiam avitam exturbati sumus, quasi postliminii jure repetamus ? Equidem non invidia, aut malevolentiae studio tranversus agor, ut huic asseram, quod alteri derogem ac detraham. Crassi impudentiam non imitabor, hinc Scævolæ sanctimoniam et gravitatem affectando, illinc præ-

henfationibus favorem hominum eblandiendo : haud is fum ; corruptis arbitriis planum agere non decrevi, veritatem illam unam perfpicuam, quam uti cœleste solis jubar, nulla nox, nulla caligo, quantumvis alta, obtenebrare potest, exhibiturus, quantum in me est, idque *simplici ac minime fucato orationis filo*, quod illa amat. Quod si optimus ille testis est, auctore Plutarcho, qui nullo obstrictus beneficio, neque alterius addictus studio, libere quod sentit loquitur et intrepide, meum testimonium merito locum habeat, qui nec mortuum aut hæredes, posterorve cognatione attingam, neque gratiam aut beneficium inde expectem, qui quicquid hujus feci, id totum sepultis manibus pietatis ergo impendi. Dicam igitur quod accepi a senibus et auctoritate gravibus, et Reipub. administratione claris, quique a majoribus suis ita accepisse gravissimo testimonio confirmarunt, quorum auctoritas jure pondus habere debeat ad faciendam fidem.”—Now for these authorities.

“Habitavit ante annos centum duodetriginta Harlemini in ædibus satis splendidis (ut documento esse potest fabrica quæ in *hunc usque diem* perstat *integra*) foro imminentibus a regione palatii regalis, Laurentius Johannes cognomento Aedituus Custosve (quod tunc opimum et honorificum munus familia eo nomine clara hæreditario jure possidebat) is ipse qui nunc laudem inventæ artis typographicæ recidivam justis vindiciis ac sacramentis repetit, ab aliis nefarie possessam et occupatam, summo jure omnium triumphorum laurea majore donandus. *Is forte* in suburbano nemore spatiatum (ut solent sumpto cibo aut festis diebus cives qui otio abundant) cœpit *faginos cortices* principio in literarum typos conformare, quibus inversa ratione sigillatim chartæ impressis versiculum unum atque alterum animi gratia ducebat, nepotibus generi sui liberis exemplum futurum. Quod ubi feliciter successerat, cœpit animo altiora (ut erat ingenio magno et subactō) agitare ;

tare, primumque omnium atramenti scriptorii genus glutinosius tenaciusque, quod vulgare lituras trahere experiretur, cum genere suo *Thoma Petro*, qui quaternos liberos reliquit omnes ferme consulari dignitate functos (quod eo dico ut artem in familia honesta et ingenua, haud servili, natam intelligant omnes) excogitavit; inde etiam pinaces totas figuratas additis characteribus expressit. Quo in genere vidi ab ipso excusa Adversaria, operarum rudimentum paginis solum adversis, haud opistographis; is liber erat vernaculo sermone ab auctore conscriptus anonymo, titulum præferens, *Speculum nostræ salutis*; in quibus id observatum fuerat inter prima artis incunabula (ut nunquam ulla simul et reperta et absoluta est) uti paginæ aversæ glutine commissæ cohærescerent, ne illæ ipsæ vacuæ deformitatem adferrent. Postea faginas formas plumbeis mutavit, has deinceps stanneas fecit, quo solidior *minusque* flexilis esset materia, durabiliorque: e quorum typorum reliquiis quæ superfuerant confiata cœnophora vetustiora adhuc *hodie* visuntur in Laurentianis illis, quas dixi, ædibus in forum prospectantibus, habitatis postea a suo pronepote Gerardo Thoma, quem honoris causa nomino, cive claro, ante paucos hos annos vita defuncto sene. Faventibus, ut fit, invento novo studiis hominum, quum nova merx, nunquam antea visa, emptores *undique* exciret cum huberrimo quæstu, crevit simul artis amor, crevit ministerium, additi familiæ operarum ministri, prima mali labes, quos inter *Joannes* quidam, sive is (ut fert suspicio) Faustus fuerit ominoso cognomine, hero suo infidus et infastus, *sive alius* eo nomine, non magnopere laboro, quod silentum umbras inquietare nolim, contagione conscientia quondam dum viverent tactas. Is ad operas excusatorias sacramento dictus, postquam artem jungendorum characterum, *fusilium typorum* peritiam, quæque alia eam ad rem spectant, perculluisse sibi visus est, captato opportuno tempore, quo non potuit magis idoneum inveniri, ipsa nocte quæ

Christi

Christi natalitiis solennis est, qua cuncti promiscue lustralibus sacris operari solent, *choragium omne typorum involat, instrumentorum herilium ei artificio comparatorum supellectilem* convasat, deinde cum fure domo se proripit, Amstelodamum principio adit, inde Coloniam Agrippinam, donec Moguntiacum perventum est, ceu ad asyli aram, ubi quasi extra telorum jactum (quod dicitur) positus tuto degeret, fuorumque furtorum *aperta officina*, fructum huberem meteret. Nimirum ex ea, intra *vertentis anni spatium*, ad annum a nato Christo 1442 iis ipsis typis, quibus Harlemi Laurentius fuerat usus, prodisse in lumen certum est Alexandri Gälli *Doctrinale*, quæ Grammatica celeberrimo tunc in usu erat, cum Petri Hispani *tractatibus*, prima foetura. Ista sunt ferme quæ a senibus annosis fide dignis, et qui tradita de manu in manum quasi ardentem tædam in decursu acceperant, olim intellexi, et alios eadem referentes attestantesque comperi. Memini narrasse mihi Nicolaum Galium, pueritiæ meæ formatorem, hominem ferrea memoria et longa canitie venerabilem, quod *puer* non semel audierit *Cornelium* quendam bibliopægum ac senio gravem, nec octogenario minorem (qui in eadem officina subministrum egerat) tanta animi *contentione* ac fervore commemorantem rei gestæ seriem, inventi (ut ab *hero* acceperat) rationem, rudis artis polituram et incrementum, aliaque id genus, ut invito quoque præ rei indignitate *lacrymæ erumperent*, quoties de plagio inciderat mentio; tum vero ob ereptam furto gloriam sic ira exardescere solere senem, ut etiam liçtoris exemplum eum fuisse editurum in plagiarium appareret, si vita illi superfuisset: tum devovere consuevisse *diris ultricibus sacrilegum caput*, noctesque illas damnare atque execrari, quas una cum scelere illo, communi in cubili per aliquot menses exegisset. Quæ non dissonant à verbis Quirini Talesii Cos. eadem fere ex ore *librarii ejusdem* se olim accepisse mihi confessi. Ista dictare

dictare me compulit cupiditas et studium defendendæ veritatis, quamvis illa odium sui plerumque parere soleat ; in qua tuenda potius quam ut deferere vadimonium velim, ad suscipiendum odium paratior sim ac promptior. Nam istud facile ponent, qui rem ipsam sincere et candide indagabunt et expendent, tanquam in Critolai balance appensam : at veritatis, quæ Dei imago quædam est, qui non libenter patrocinium suscipiat, vix hominis appellationem mereri existimo, cujus cura atque amore nihil cuiquam vel sanctius vel antiquius esse debet. Tuendo veritatem et constabit suus urbi nostræ honos, in cive ereptam inventionis pulcherrimæ gloriam recuperaturæ, et cadet eorum arrogantia, quos falsam alienæ gloriæ hæreditatem cernere non puduit, et quasi dejectis de ponte sexagenariis alieni juris possessionem superbe usurparunt. At vereor ut *surdus ista* auribus canantur ; utcunque tamen erit, juvabit me et memoriæ inventoris et gloriæ urbis pro virili consuluisse, dum apud leves et veri incuriosos animos plus valet præjudicium opinionis (quod antea quoque testatus sum) quam cum ratione auctoritas. Quæ injuria mussitanda est et devoranda parum lubentibus. Quanquam dolendum minus foret eam laudem in clarissimam Germaniæ urbem, velut aliam in familiam, transisse, si non *plagio*, sed recta ratione factum id fuisset. Verum arbitror fatis volentibus hanc viam commodissimam visam, uti citissime ad nitorem suum ac perfectionis culmen perveniret inventum illud, orbi sale (quod dicitur) et sole magis necessarium, nimirum in majore luce hominum, per studia, magnatum præmia, et honores (quibus artes aluntur) facilius emerfurum, uti accidisse res docuit, quam in extremo orbis terrarum secessu quodam et recondito angulo, inter hominum privatorum fordes [a].”

The fairest, and I believe the most satisfactory way, will be to insert the observations at the foot of the respective au-

[a] Meerman, tom. II. p. 89—95.

thorities adduced to support the claims of Harlem and Mentz. That of Junius should be the first taken notice of; it is the fullest, and probably was the first, and on which all the subsequent ones have been taken; the account hath been given: as Malinkrot hath been very particular in his observations on it, I will give what he says, although it may be thought tedious.

He asks why Coster made choice of the *bark*, not the wood, of the beech tree, to make his letters on; the bark must be too tender for the office assigned to them: Secondly, as Coster was carving single letters on this bark, for the use and instruction of his *grand children*, whether he could hope to make with his knife, on *such* materials, such correct letters as any schoolmaster would have supplied him with? how he could dispose these letters, so as to compose a *word*, especially, as he owns, in another place, that *printers ink* was not then found out; (to which I must add, how could such tender materials bear the stroke of the *printing press*?) and even, when he had improved his bark types into *leaden* ones, simply, and not hardened with other metals, they must be found unequal to this great pressure; but his surprize is increased when he considers the number to be so great, even after the theft by Fust, as to make vessels for *holding liquors*, he thinks it would have been more natural to have preserved them, and added such new ones as might be wanted to carry on such a *lucrative trade* as he allows it to have been; besides, these vessels made with the reliques of the *printing apparatus*, must be made with very durable wood to have lasted till the time of Junius, about 140 years, and even Coster's house must have been well built, as they were then mostly of wood, to have lasted so long; but this house, and these vessels, seem to have been unknown to those early writers, who treated the subject
of

of early printing, long before Junius took it up : he urges that Fust took his time wrong in committing the theft on Christmas day, as that festival was more likely to encrease the number of idle people, whose curiosity to discover something of an art so carefully concealed, exposed *Coster's* house to more danger then, than at any other time, and should have redoubled his vigilance ; he observes, that *Fust*, very absurdly, encumbered his flight with such a vast load (*Chevillier* supposes not less than 1000lb.) which, as he was acquainted with the secret of the art, he might so easily supply himself with, to any place he might fly to ; and probably, without a *crime*, have established himself in ; that after his flight, and getting out of a *walled* town, and that better guarded at that time than commonly, on account of the riots and debauchery incident to such a festival, he should stop at Amsterdam, within two hours easy walk, where he might be speedily apprehended, as the intercourse between the two towns was incessant ; that he should then proceed no farther than Cologne, where he might be secured ; and lastly, to Mentz, where he was allowed to settle quietly, and without molestation, or complaint to any magistrates about the robbery ; he might thus recover all his types, &c. (if he could not do without them) and have renewed the profits of such a beneficial trade, instead of *weakly* giving them up, and converting the remainder of his stock into drinking vessels, or vessels for holding liquors ; but it is laughable to hear an old fellow, *Cornelius*, fellow servant with Fust at *Coster's*, and then *eighty* years old, threatening what he would do with Fust if he lived a little longer, and could meet with him ; the theft was in 1441, and Fust lived till 1466, twenty-five years after the theft, long enough to have allowed *Cornelius* time to execute these threats, and when he certainly was better able

to execute them. Malinkrot's observations are, perhaps, sufficient to invalidate this account of Junius : I shall only observe, that this account of Junius is such a piece of *oratory* as is unnecessary in an investigation of truth, and seems to be built chiefly on *popular* opinion. As he appears to be diffident himself of the success of his testimony, he must allow us to be more so.

On this ground of *popular opinion*, so many other places (at least fifteen in number) having put in their claim, I am not surprized to find this from Harlem, which hath better pretensions than any of them, except Mentz and Strasburg, to this honour. If the Lambeth record is allowed, it is decisive; but though the credit of that authority is, I hope, considerably weakened, it is possible that the practice of printing was very early introduced there, and that by *Guttenberg*; in its proper place I shall give my reasons for thinking so.

The next voucher for Harlem is, that of Theodorus Volckardus Coornhertius, in *dedicatione Belgicæ versionis Tullii Officiorum*, edit. Harlem 1561.

Addressing himself to the *Senate of that town*, he says :

‘Viri spectatissimi prudentissimique, sæpe mihi *bona fide* narratum est, utilissimam artem Typographicam in hac urbe Harlemensi, etsi modo perquam rudi, inventam esse; emendare enim inventa et ad majorem gradum perfectionis perducere facilius est, quam nova invenire. Postea hanc artem servus quidam perfidus Moguntiam transtulit, ibique perfectiorem reddidit, et huic simul urbi inventionem hujus artis, simulatque fama ejus rei divulgata esset, conciliavit; adeo ut cives nostri, quando hunc honorem vero inventori adscribunt, vix apud *quemquam fidem inveniant*, cum tamen res ipsa a multis in nostra urbe, propter notitiam *certissimam* omnino credatur; et a civibus vetera-

nis cunctis extra omnem dubitationis aleam ponatur. Neque me fugit, famam illam de *Moguntia* ob majorum nostrorum incuriam temerariam omnium mentibus tam *altis infixam esse radicibus*, ut nullum argumentum, quamvis evidentissimum, certissimum, et *invictissimum* fuerit, inveteratam illam opinionem ex illorum animis evellere queat. Sed quoniam veritas, etiamsi paucis sit nota, veritas tamen manet, idcirco ego quoque rem modo narratam certissimam esse credo, convictus testimoniis fide dignissimis *virorum senio et auctoritate gravium*, qui non solum de familia inventoris Harlemensis, sed etiam de ejus *nomine et cognomine* me sæpe certiore reddiderunt; imo primum impressionis modum rudiorum descripserunt, et primi *Typographi* ædes indice digito olim monstrarunt. Itaque non invidia honoris alieni, sed amore veritatis inductus, intermittere haud potui, quin hanc rem ad gloriam promeritam urbi nostræ vindicandam paucis attingerem. Hæc honesta et justa honoris cupido videtur etiam in causa fuisse, cur typographia in hac urbe ad instar furculi e radicibus arboris vetustæ denuo effloruerit atque incepta fuit. Etenim sæpe contiget, ut *cives nostri* in congressum, colloquiumque venientes, quererentur, alios hoc honore immerito frui, atque adhuc a *nemine post illud tempus* (sic illi *ne ullo quidem contradicente* loquebantur) hanc artem in nostra urbe exercitam esse. His quotidianis dictis effectum est id, ut ego focique mei, qui honestum laborem otio preferunt, consilium de typographia Harlemi constituenda in hujus urbis honorem, aliorum emolumentum nostrumque commodum absque ullius hominis damno promovendum, ceperimus."

This flourishing account was published twenty-seven years before that of Junius, and probably suggested the other by him: Junius, however, embellished it with many particulars seemingly unknown to Volckard, though writing so re-

cently before him ; he thought proper to bring in the beachen letters on bark, and Coster's solitary walk in the wood, &c. though the former says not a word of Coster himself.

This testimony goes no further than to establish the general and popular belief at Harlem ; he honestly owns that he did not expect to overcome the prejudice in favour of Mentz, he may therefore allow us to retain ours in favour of that city, until better authorities than these adduced by him are produced. Guicciardin's account is the next to be noticed, and is as follows, in speaking of Harlem :

“ In hac urbe, non modo juxta publicam *incolarum*, aliorumque *Hollandorum* vocem, sed et scriptores *quosdam*, aliaque monumenta, inventa primum ars fuit imprimendi, et literas characteresque in chartam transferendi, hodie recepta. Verum auctore ante perfectam evulgatamque artem *defuncto*, hujus *famulus*, ut *narrant*, Moguntiam abiit, ubi eandem in lucem prodiens perbenignè fuit exceptus. Illic autem data porro arti est opera tanta cum diligentia atque industria, ut ad integram ejus cognitionem plenamque perfectionem ventum fuerit, unde divulgata post hac tandemque inveterata est fama, natam ea in urbe artem scientiamque impressoriam. Quid hac in parte vero sit consentaneum judicare nec possum nec volo, sufficere arbitratus, aliquid ea de re *obiter* commemorasse, ne isti urbi, regionique gravis sim.”

In this account he acquits Fust of the supposed robbery, and gives a more reasonable account of the settlement of the art at Mentz. It may be observed that he gives no opinion of his own, but seems diffident of the claim of Harlem ; indeed, if he had been more decided, I should give but little credit to his opinion, given at such a distance of time and place from the invention. Guicciardin wrote in Italy, long after the discovery of the art (120 years), and speaks of it only slightly (*obiter*),

(obiter), in his description of the Low Countries; it is only incidentally introduced, and in that general way as would not settle a dispute that exercised the pens of the ablest writers, who lived in the neighbourhood, and nearer the time of the invention, and who were treating it *professedly* at that time.

If any farther proof should be thought wanting to invalidate the force of Guicciardin's account, it may be inferred from a book mentioned by Maittaire, supposed by him to have been printed in 1471. It is to be found in the Colophon to an edition of Pliny's Epistles, and is as follows.

* “ Sine loco et typographo; sed in editoris epistola dedicatiâ leguntur hæc; “ Ludovicus Carbo Sal. Plu. dicit illustrissimo et excellentissimo principi Borgio, duci Mutinæ ac Regii, marchioni Æstensi, comitique Radigii. Gratulari licet sæculo nostro, dive Borfi, dux præstantissime; in quo certè optimarum artium studia maximè floreant; eloquentia et legitima illa eruditio suum tandem decus agnoscat; in pristinamque dignitatem restituta sit, adeò latè pateat Romana et Græca facundia ut jam et Galli et Britanni bonos oratores et poëtas habere videantur: ad quam quidem rem commodissimum adjuvmentum præstiterunt nobilissima *Germanorum* ingenia, qui artificiosissimas imprimendorum librorum formas *excogitârunt*, ut sapientissimorum auctorum plurima simul eodem temporis momento volumina in promptu essent; omnesque utilissimi codices et in magnâ copiâ et in leviori sumtu parari possent. Imprimisque has Plinii secundi Junioris Epistolas operâ meâ emendatas correctasque impressionibus misi, ut quod rarissimum esse solebat, jam commune omnibus fieri incipiat.” Mihi probabile videtur hunc librum excusum fuisse à Christophoro Valdarfer, in cujus typographeo Ludovicus Carbo correctoris munere fungebatur.” Maittaire, tom I. edit. sec. p. 302, note 5; and De Bure, from a copy in the Duc de la Valiere's library,

library, are of the same opinion ; and fix the edition in 1471 much earlier, and surely of more weight than Guicciardin's account in favour of Harlem, above an hundred years after, even if it can be tortured to give countenance to the claim of Harlem.

The next, and the strongest, in favour of Harlem is, Ulrici Zell testimonium, quod servavit Auctor Chronici Urbis Colonizæ, anno 1499.

“ Item hæc ars dignissima primum inventa est in Germania Moguntizæ ad Rhenum, magnoque Germanicæ nationi honori cedit, tam ingeniosos homines illic reperiri. Accidit autem illud circa annum 1440, et ab eo tempore usque ad annum 1450, perfectior reddita est ars, et quicquid eo pertinebat. Anno autem 1450, qui Jubilæus erat cœptum est imprimi, primusque liber qui excuderetur, *Biblia* fuere *Latina*, impressaque ea sunt *scriptura grandiori*, quali nunc Missalia solent imprimi. Quamvis autem ars reperta fuerit *Moguntizæ*, ut diximus, eo modo qui hodie communiter usurpatur, prima tamen ejus *præfiguratio* inventa est in *Hollandia*, ut patet ex *Donatis*, qui *ibi ante id tempus excusi sunt* ; atque ab illis et ex illis desumtum est dictæ artis *initium*, ita tamen ut multo præstantior et subtilior posterior hæc inventio priori fuerit, et magis magisque excultior reddita. Auctor quidam Omnibonus dictus, scribit in præfatione Quintiliano præmissa, aliisque in libris, Gallum aliquem, nomine Nicolaum Genson, primum egregiam hanc artem reperisse ; quod tamen aperte falsum est. Superfunt enim adhuc in vivis qui testari possunt Venetiis libros excusos fuisse, priusquam Nicolaum Genson illuc advenisset, ubi typos sculpere et præparare cepit. Verum primus typographiæ inventor civis fuit Moguntinus, patria Argentinensis, dictus Joannes Guttenberg, eques. Moguntia autem dicta ars primo *Coloniæ* delata est, postmodum Argentinum,

tinum, ac deinceps *Venetias*. Initium et progressum hujus artis narravit mihi honorabilis magister, *Ulricus Zell*, de *Hannau*, impressor Coloniz hoc ipso adhuc tempore anno 1499, cujus beneficio ars hæc Coloniam delata est. Reperiuntur scilicet aliquot, qui perhibent, jam *olim* libros impressos esse, sed veritati illud repugnat; nusquam enim terrarum libri eo tempore excusi reperiuntur."

There are, I think, two different authorities in this account; the first, that of *Zell*, which may have considerable weight; the other is that of the author of the Chronicle; that, perhaps, deserves very little, as will be seen by the testimonies I shall adduce of the most respectable German writers; he says the art was carried to Cologne by this *Zell*, and yet we know of no book printed there, and that not by him, earlier than 1470, unless a very curious one, given to us by Meerman, is allowed to have been printed there: it is a little tract of St. Austin, "de Singularitate Clericorum," in 1467; the Colophon doth not say *where* it was printed; but, taking it for granted, from the author of this Chronicle, that *Zell* was the first printer at Cologne, Meerman gives it to that city; he says it was carried first to *Cologne*, then to Strasburgh; all the writers agree it was carried first to Strasburgh; and if dates determine the question, we know the Strasburgh Bible is in 1466, and that there are others still earlier from that press; he then carries the art to Venice; the first book printed there is by John Spire, only in 1469; the Lactantius, at a monastery near Rome, is in 1465; the St. Austin in 1467; the Speculum Roderici Zamorensis in 1468, the Oxford book, if the date is allowed, in the same year; the Bible at Augsburgh, and the book at Tours, still earlier. In supposing the art to be carried by Jenfon, he must extend the æra another year, for we know of no edition by him before 1470, when the art was diffused almost every where. Such is the ig-

ignorance of this writer, on a subject he should have been better acquainted with before we give him credit for ascertaining the rise and progress of printing; especially, as his account is so late as 1499, fifty years from its real origin; when, from the little communication between countries, some mistakes may easily be supposed to happen in the history of this art. It is well that the existence of an earlier Bible than that of 1462 by Fust, seems to be established by a better authority; though I am not certain that those copies of it hitherto produced have done it.

The Donatus said to be printed in *Holland*, (for he doth not say *Harlem*, or a word about *Coster*, though the mention of the latter was so natural,) from the fragments that have been seen of it, is allowed to be on wooden blocks, and may therefore be claimed by Mentz, as well as *Harlem*; nay, if we believe the account of the Donatus shewed by Aldus jun. to Angelus Rocca, on the first white leaves of which Mariangelus Accursius, in the year 1500, (but who, I think, was born so early as 1450) had written these words in Latin; "this book, and another, the *Confessionalia*, were the *first printed books*, and that John Fust, the first *inventor* of printing, had printed them anno 1450." (Ang. Rocca, in his *Bibliot. Vaticana*. Palmer, p. 50.) I say, if we credit this account, Mentz, it is plain, has the justest title to it.

In this place it may be mentioned that the other books from wooden blocks cannot be fixed with more certainty at *Harlem* than at Mentz. The *Speculum*, *Biblia Pauperum*, &c. may as fairly be claimed (and I think with stronger reasons) by Mentz as by *Harlem*; but Mr. Meerman is so modest in rejecting all of them, except one copy, viz. the *Speculum*, which he allows to be printed by *Coster*, and is that preserved at *Harlem*, that it is almost a pity not to allow him that. He allows
authenticity

authenticity to no other, and so strips our curious libraries, at once, of those early specimens of the art which distinguishes them; for he contends that they were printed much later. As he doth not give us his reason for his preference and exception in favour of the Harlem copy, and I have not seen it, I can go no further than the mention of it by him.

It is difficult to give the exact sense of the word *Præfiguratio*; if he means only rude trials, like those by Guttenberg at Strasburgh, he will not do much honour to Coster, unless he could assist him with another Fust to lick this mis-shapen offspring into form.

The German writers do not give much credit to this Cologne Chronicle; they speak contemptibly of it. "*Gelenius & Werdenhagen*, qui regardent cette Chronique comme un compilation indigeste de mauvais lambeaux, tout cousues de fables ridicules, recommandent de n'y ajouter aucune foi, à moins qu'elle ne se trouve appuyée de quelque autorité plus respectable." Another says of it: "*Productum a quodam archigrammateo Colonienfi. Auctor iste, uti anonymus est, ita recentioris ævi, preterea damnatus; ideoque fides nulla ei videtur deberi, nisi alterius auctoritate sublevetur [a].*"

Besides, the author of the Chronicle says, the art was discovered in 1440; Guttenberg, as it appears from his attestation, was still at Strasburg in the years 1441 and 1442, and perhaps even in 1443. Meerman, aware of this mistake, will have it to refer to the invention at Harlem. Will the words support this application of them? is there any mention of Coster, or indeed of Harlem; unless, it is to be comprized in the word Holland? *Omne majus continet in se minus*. He allows the Chronicle to have been much reprobated, but though abounding with the absurdest fables, he thinks it may have weight as to *facts*; but a very weak silly writer may hurt the

[a] Marchand, p. 11.

credit even of *facts*, when he wishes to give honour to his own country, and his friend Zell.

Mr. Meerman hath given us the epitaph of Guttenberg, as follows: "D. O. M. S. Joannis Gensfleischii senioris (this word is artfully added by Meerman, as the reader, not consulting the original, where it is not found, may be misled to suppose Meerman's addition for the original) epitaphium, auctore Adamo Gelthus, quod legitur ad calcem memorie Marfilii ab Inghen, edit. Heidelb. 1499. Joanni Gensfleisch, artis impressorie *repertori*, de omni natione et lingue optime merito, in nominis sui memoriam immortalem Adam Gelthus posuit.

"Ossa ejus in ecclesia D. Francisci Moguntina feliciter cubant."

There is no date mentioned; it doth not prove there were two Guttenbergs, though that is plainly the distinction he forces on the reader by the addition of *senioris*; it doth not prove that it is more applicable to the elder, than to the younger brother. What then is it produced for? to be satisfied with his sole authority that it is the elder brother?

I have thus given such of the authorities cited by him as are favourable to the cause of Harlem. I am not conscious that I have omitted any that have the least weight, and lay within the fifteenth century, to which period I wish to confine the enquiry. It is proper now to bring forwards those in favour of the first invention by Guttenberg at Strasburg before he joined Fust at Mentz; I shall select those that are of any consequence.

In the law-suit between George Dritzehen and Guttenberg, determined by the Senate of Strasburgh in 1439, on a claim by Dritzehen for monies due from the latter, on account, as it seems, for the attempts made in the invention of this art, which J. Guttenberg agreed to discover and instruct Andrew

Dritzehen to prosecute, Andrew died before this was done ; and his brother George brings this suit to oblige Guttenberg to refund certain monies he had received on that account from Andrew, or to reveal the art to him, as he had stipulated to do with Andrew, but which Guttenberg contended was *limited* to Andrew, and that therefore his brother had no claim to the satisfaction of the agreement.

It will be sufficient to give such examinations of the witnesses as have reference to the supposed invention of printing. These examinations seem to indicate that attempts had been made, and some discoveries effected in the discovery ; but so imperfectly, that they were not completed till the purse and ingenuity of Fust enabled Guttenberg to do it at Mentz afterwards. The first is,

“ Item Conradus Saspach dixit, Andream Heilman aliquando ad se in plateam mercatorum venisse et dixisse : Mi Conrade, cum Andreas Dritzehen mortuus sit, et tu *prælum* confeceris, rei que conscius sis, abi, exime *prælo paginas*, diffice illas, et nemo sciet quid rei sit ; sed cum his testis id facere voluisset, et ita proxime præterito die S^u Stephani scrutatus esset, opus jam fuisse sublatum [a].

“ Laurentius Beldeck dixit, se aliquando a Joanne Guttenberg ad Nicolaum Dritzehen post mortem Andreæ fratris ejusdem, missum esse, ut ipsi nuntiaret, ne *prælum*, quod apud se haberet, cuiquam monstraret ; idque se curasse. Addidit, Guttenberg ipsi insuper mandasse, ut subito ad *præla* se conferret, et illud *prælum* quod duabus cochleolis munitum esset, aperiret, ut *paginae* dilabantur in partes, easque partes vel intra vel supra *prælum* poneret. Ita neminem rem vel inspecturum, vel aliquid ejus intellecturum [b].”

It may be observed, if that matter wanted any other proof, that, in the adjudication of this law-suit, the Senate of Stras-

[a] Meerman, p. 62. t. 2.

[b] Ibid. p. 67.

burg style it "Georgius Dritzehen, agens contra Joannem Gensfleisch ex Moguntia, dictum Guttenberg."

After the separation of Guttenberg from Fust about the year 1455, it is probable that he retired to Harlem, and set up a printing press in that town; though it is also contended that he went first to Strasburg. If he established himself at the former of these places, we shall not want the help of the Lambeth MS. to ascertain the early introduction of the art there; and the popular opinion so soon and generally taken up, that the art was invented there, will be well accounted for. The first proof is from Maittaire, vol. I. p. 31. "Joannes Guttenbergius, quem exorta inter ipsum et Faustum contentione migrasse scribit *Salmuth*, Harlemum, unde aliquando profectus est; ibique primus artem typographicam a se inventam monstraverit, et ipse anno 1459 exercuit." He adds, very justly, this is a full confutation of Coster's invention, if it is admitted.

Natalis Comes in his *Histoire Universelle* says, "Mais n'y trouvant toute l'encouragement à Strasburg qu'il espéroit, il passa de là à Harlem, où il établit en 1459 une nouvelle imprimerie [a]."

There is no improbability, that, after the separation, Guttenberg might first have retired to Strasburg, where he began the invention, and it is said, that, at this time, he instructed Mentz in the new art, as he was of an unsettled disposition, which Meerman allows, and that, not succeeding there, he might try his fortune at Harlem afterwards in 1459. The interval between the separation in 1455 and the establishment made in 1459 will allow time enough for such a roving character to make his attempt in both places. Schoepfflin, though positive as to Harlem, is not willing to allow that he went first to Strasburgh, and says, "Sed cur *Argentnam* rediret,

[a] Marchand, p. 30.

ubi sua consumpserat, ubi successores ejus Mentelius et Eggesteinus præla sua fortiter urgebant. Veri similis est Moguntia eum discessisse Harlemum. Ita decennalis vitæ Guttenbergianæ lacuna ad annum usque 1465, quo in Moguntinis documentis rursus apparet completur [a]."

Pressed by these difficulties, Meerman is willing to allow that Gutenberg was at *Harlem*, but, not at the period mentioned by these writers. "Natalis Comes ignorantia deceptus veræ epochæ, quando *Harlemi* commoratus est, ut *artem adisceret*, scilicet anno 1435." (This is taking *new ground*, and contradicts the account that he learnt the art of his brother, and was acquainted with it in 1459; it is contrary to the account that he was at Strasburgh so late as 1442.) Alterum vero iter ipsius in eam urbem post 1455 suspectum redditur epitaphio Theod. Martini [b];" who, however, only says the *fusile metal types* were first carried into *Holland* in 1472; but why might not these on *wooden blocks*, or the *fuso-sculpti*, which he insists so much on, be carried there much earlier?

He goes on, "Aut cur duarum malim (postea aperiam) Harlemum, Gutenbergii (iter scilicet) quem quidem *Argentnam* migrasse, potior vero de qua deinceps differam autoritas, *Harlemi* consedisse affirmat hæc primæ suæ artis molitus rudimenta; non qui ante ann. 1455, quo fatetur accidisse inter se Faustumque dissidium, quod ipsi fuit migrandi causa, neque forsan multo post 1457, quo perfectior innoluerat imprimendi ratio. Verosimile ergo est, Jo. Gensfleischium *juniolem*, sive Gutenbergium, qui nundinas Aquisgranenses *quæstus* gratia frequentare erat solitus, non longe distitum ab hac urbe *Belgium* circa ann. 1435 adiisse, fratremque suum *Laurentii ministrum* cominus salutasse, a quo ex *artis secretis nonnulla hausit*, atque *Argentorati* in usum convertere studuit suos. [c]"

[a] Schoeffer, p. 93. [b] Meerman, t. II. p. 138. [c] Ibid. p. 198.

Where doth he find this brother in the service of Coster ? But the use of having two Guttenbergs is now apparent ; it is not plain they could *learn* the art, and that *imperfectly*, from Coster, for they brought the knowledge of the art with them from Mentz. How *lame* and *miserable* is this account in every part, but the acknowledgement that Guttenberg had been at Harlem !

As this separation, and the cause of it, between Fust and Guttenberg, is of moment, and curious, the reader will pardon me if I give it at *length*, though Meerman hath kept it back, and refers us only to another book in which it is to be found ; the complete account is given by *Marchand* [a].

“ A la gloire de Dieu, Amen. Soit notoire à tout qui verront ou entendront cette instrument publique, qu'en l'année de nôtre Seigneur 1455, indiction troisieme, le Jeudi 6 de Novembre, la premiere année du pontificat de notre très Saint Pere le Pape Calixte III, a comparu ici à Mayence dans le grand parloir des religieux déchauffés, entre onze heures et midi, par devant moi Notaire, et les témoins soufignés, honorable et discrète personne *Jaques Fust*, bourgeois de Mayence, qui au nom de son frere *Jean Fust*, pareillement présent, a dit et déclaré manifestement, qu'à ce même jour et l'heure présent, et dans ce même parloir des Religieux déchauffés, *Jean Guttenberg* devoit voir et entendre prêter à Jean Fust un serment, conforme à la sentence prononcée entre eux deux. Et cette sentence lue en présence d'honorable personne Henry Gunter, Curé de Sainte Christophe de Mayence, de Henri Keffer, et de Bechtoff de Hanau, serviteur et valet de Guttenberg ; *Jean Fust*, posant la main sur les Saintes Evangiles, a juré entre les mains de moi notaire public, conformément à la sentence prononcée, et à un billet quil m'a remis, et a fait le serment suivant, de

[a] Page 29.

mot à mot : Moi, *Jean Fust*, ai emprunté 1550 florins, que j'ai remis à Jean Guttenberg, qui ont été employés à notre commun travail, et dont j'ai payé la rente et l'intérêt annuel, dont je dois encore partie. Comptant donc, pour chaque cent florins empruntés, comme est dit ci-dessus six florins par an, (very low interest at such a period), je lui en demande la remboursement et l'intérêt conformément à la sentence prononcée; ce que je prouverai en droit être légitime, en conséquence de ma prétension sur le dit *Jean Guttenberg*, en présence de (the fame witnesses), et Jean Fust m'a demandé un instrument authentique, pour lui servir en tant et aussi souvent que le besoin seroit. En fois de quoi j'ai signé cet instrument, et y'ai apposé mon cachet." The whole demand was for 2000 florins. As this act had been doubted, it was published by *Senckenberg* in 1747.

The sentence referred to is found in the testimony of *Sal-muth*, in *Appendice Comment. in Pancirolum ad Tit. 12*, ubi ita scribit :

"Eodem tempore Moguntiae commorabatur *Joannes Gutenbergius*, honestis parentibus natus, qui proxime ædes *Fausti* habitabat. Hic cum animadvertisset insignem hanc artem typographicam, non solum omnium ore passim celebrari, sed etiam admodum lucrosam esse, familiaritatem cum *Fausto* contraxit, et quia opulentus erat, pecuniam ei ad sumptus necessarios obtulit. Quod *Fausto* minime ingratum fuit, quandoquidem comperiebat, sumptus quos in eam artem faciebat quotidie crescere ; et tunc opus chartæ pergamenæ imprimendum sub manibus habebat. Quapropter cum *Gutenbergio* convenit et pactus est, ut quicquid in illud opus impenderetur, communi utriusque lucro vel damno cederet. Quoniam vero *Faustus* plus insumpserat quam *Gutenbergius*, necessitatem postulasse arbitratur, hic dimidiam suam partem exsolvere detraxit ; qua ex re cum lis orta esset, alter alterum Moguntiae

in

in jus vocavit, ubi partibus auditis pronunciatum fuit. Si Joannes Faustus, *interposito* juramento, *affirmare* posset omnem pecuniam, quam mutuam sumpsisset in commune opus erogatam, non *autem* in *propriis ipsius usus* conversam fuisse, Gutenbergium ad solvendum obligatum esse. Cui sententiæ Faustus paruit sicut ex archetypo instrumenti quod etiamnum superest anno 1455, sexto Novemb. a Joanne Ulrico Helmaspergero notario de ea re confectum fuit, liquido demonstrari potest. Unde evidenter apparet Gutenbergium nequaquam *artis typographicæ* inventorem, et primum autorem esse, sed aliquot annis postquam ea inventa fuisset, a Joanne Fausto in consortium adscitum, pecuniam ei suppeditasse [a]."

Although I cannot allow that Fust was the first *inventor*, as Schoeffer honestly owns when I come to give his testimony, yet, it is sufficiently proved that he took a considerable part in conducting and *improving* the art, besides his meer assistance in supplying money. Salmuth is positive that he retired to Harlem in 1459, and for this he must have had good authority, *although the Lambeth MS. was not then known.*

Before I proceed to the authorities in favour of Mentz, it may be proper to finish all that hath been urged that hath any relation to the invention at Harlem. Mr. Meerman, to account for some of the difficulties in his way, hath imagined another species of printing, which he calls *fuso-sculpti*. His idea will be best explained by the observations of the writers who confute it. Meerman is so attached to this middle improvement between the blocks of wood and wooden types, and the completion of the art by the fusile moveable metal types, that he will allow no book to have been printed by the latter before the Durand in 1459, and contends *expressly* that the two Pfalters of 1457 and 1459, and the Catholicon of 1460, are only printed with the former letters.

[a] Malinkrot, p. 76.

I believe the very sight of these books would be a sufficient confutation ; for I can discover no difference that can establish the distinction. I have them all except the first Psalter, and that I examined and took notes of *myself* at Vienna. Till he will give us his criteria for this singular opinion, I must continue to think they were all printed with the same kind of letters, and in the same way ; indeed, the difference in the time of printing the second Psalter and the Durand is so trifling, that it is not likely the improvement given to the latter should take place in that very short interval. They are both printed in 1459, the Psalter in August, and the Durand in October. But now to the authorities against this supposed improvement :

“ Plusieurs auteurs ont compris enfin l'impossibilité d'imprimer avec des *lettres de bois*, ils ont imaginées un *autre genre* pour expliquer l'inégalité des caractères dans ces livres dont nous parlons ; ils ont produit, à cette fin, des lettres mobiles, *sculptées de bronze*, mais par malheur elles rencontrent encore plus de difficulté que celles *de bois* ; outre que la *matière* est plus dure, elles demandent encore un tems *infini* à être sculptées. M. Meerman enfin pour sauver quelques circonstances établies par lui pour prouver l'Histoire de l'Imprimerie de *Coster*, a inventé une troisième espèce de lettres. Il fait *fondre le corps* dans des moules, ou *matrices*, pourqu'elles *devient égales*, et en suite il fait taillier la lettre au *bout à la main* et au *couteau*. Mais quand on est venu jusqu'à *fondre le corps*, il faut être bien imbécille pour ne pas *fondre aussi la lettre*. Disons plutôt la vérité ; et d'autant plus qu'on rencontre même dans les livres les plus irrégulièrement imprimées toujours quelques marques qui décelent la *fonte* des lettres, et avouons sincèrement que toutes les *imprimées* le sont, ou avec

des lettres fixes, gravées sur bois, ou avec des lettres de fonte [a].” He might safely have added that some of these *little irregularities* are to be found *not only* in the above books reprobated by him, but in others of the very early editions to which he doth not extend his *severity*, but which were gradually corrected as the art improved.

“ Je suis convaincu que Guttenberg a fait faire une assez grande quantité de lettres de bois, mais je suis aussi convaincu qu’on n’a pu taillier à la main la quantité même d’une telle égalité et justesse, pour imprimer avec elles des feuilles entières, et encore moins ces gros volumes, comme quelqu’uns prétendent [b].

“ Mais j’ai remarqué que quelqu’uns ont voulu trouver une troisième genre, savoir des lettres de métal, sculptées avec des outils de fer ; mais, si on considère les inconvéniens qui en doivent naturellement rencontrer en taillant des lettres si petits avec le fer, dans une matière aussi dure que l’est le métal, même en supposant que les corps des lettres fussent de fonte, et la lettre seulement sculptée, on ne trouveroit peut-être deux lettres uniformes ; outre qu’il failloit être bien ignorant, après avoir trouvée la fonte de corps, si l’on ne pouvoit pas trouver aussi la fonte des lettres mêmes, sur tout quand un orfèvre s’en mêle [c].”

“ Longius enim tempus majoresque sumtus typorum e metallo quam ligno sculptura postulabat, nec omnis semper tolli poterat inequalitas, unde et hos aliquando perforari in medio filoque necesse oportuit [d].”

Meerman allows they were obliged to connect and keep steady these letters by passing a thread, or line, through every letter of a sentence, and says, he hath often observed the hole left by this *miserable* operation ; I never did.

[a] Schoeffer, p. 260.

[b] Ibid. p. 254.

[c] Ibid. p. 446.

[d] Meerman, t. I. p. 27.

“ Ce trou même, qu'il étoit obligé de ménager à chaque lettre, fait assez voir la difficulté qu'il rencontroit de joindre les pieces ensemble avec *solidité*, outre cela ce trou étoit sujet à de grands inconvéniens ; enfiler les caractères d'une seule ligne, en faisant un nœud au bout, ou faire passer un fil de droit à gauche par toutes les lignes, l'un et l'autre n'étoit pas suffisant pour soutenir l'effort d'une *presse* ; il ne pouvoit pas manquer, comme j'ai observé, que dans une grande feuille, quelqu'uns des lettres ne *marquassent* pas sur le papier.” And again, “ S'il a fondu des lettres de *plomb*, sans connoître la maniere de taillier des poinçons, ou frapper des matrices, ou s'il a voulu façonner au *couteau* des lettres au bout de chaque corps, et si il n'employoit que du plomb, matiere nullement capable de résister à la presse, et encore plus flexible que le bois, sur tout quand il est trop mince, il n'a pu venir à bout d'imprimer un livre, suivant ses desirs [a].”

Meerman may be excused in some of these mistakes, as probably he was not acquainted with the *practical* part of *letter-founding* ; if he was even with that of printing. Sensible how much, in this enquiry, depended on a knowledge in both the branches, I have taken great pains to make myself acquainted with them ; and have found in Mr. Martin, who hath so eminently distinguished himself in the types for the edition of Shaképeare, a ready and able master, who hath instructed me fully in the whole art of letter-founding ; and from this knowledge I have presumed to say, what would have been rashness without it, not only what Schoepfflin hath said, of the difficulties and inconveniences, but what I am confident that Mr. Nichols, so complete and able an artist as he is himself, and so candid a man, will allow me to say, that Mr. Meerman's *fuso-sculpti* are *impossible*.

[a] Schoeffer.

To finish what may be farther said of Coster and Harlem, it will be proper to caution our extravagant countrymen about the prices they give for the early specimens of the art; those supposed to be on wooden blocks, the *Speculum*, &c. Meerman reprobates them all, except one fortunate copy of the *Speculum* preserved at Harlem. This hath found grace in his eyes, perhaps, because it is at Harlem. All other copies of these early books, so much the passion of our collectors, he supposes to be performances of later and bad printers, seemingly not aware how much the Harlem claims may be affected by it; for, this copy at Harlem was not known, or indeed any other of Coster's performances, till about the year 1660, when a fortunate event put that city in possession of it, as will appear from the following account of it: "*Sciendum nempe est, medio fere sæculo, an. 1654, (or 1650, as some say,) Hag. Comit. venum expositam fuisse cistam, variis repletam libris, qui per longissimum tempus in familia Laurentiana custoditi fuerant (and yet never known to Junius, or produced in this controversy, and, till this lucky event, not one original document could be shewed for Harlem). In ea scilicet continebantur Ars moriendi, Historia Beatæ Virginis ex Cantico Canticorum, ac Speculum Latinum secundæ editionis, uno volumine compacta, item Speculum Belgicum ex principe editione, et Figuræ Apocalypseos S. Joannis; omnes impressionis Belgicæ originariæ fætus. Preterea Chronicon Colonienſe anno 1499, primam inventionem artis Hollandiæ tribuens. Denique tres alii libri sæculo 15 excusi; nempe Ciceronis Officia ex edit. Fausti 1466. Speculum Belgicum Veldenarii, 1483, ac Barthol. Anglici opus modo laudatum ex Belgica versione, Harlemi 1485, &c. Hunc thesaurum Senatus Harlemensis anno 1654, proxeneta quodam Matham, (sculptore, ni fallor, Harlemensi) trecentorum florenorum pretio emi, atque in curia urbis, æternæ memoriæ,*

asservari jussit. Quæ omnia discimus ex J. Vlamingii annotationibus ad Henr. Spiegelii Hartspiegel [a]." The books thus found are all defective and incomplete, though descending from Coster's family.

It may be curious, in this place to trace the art through its several progresses. From the blocks of wood, which only could be employed on the work for which they were carved, an attempt was made to cut *movable letters* on wood; but this, I am satisfied, went no farther than trials; and, if Schoeffer's happy genius had not discovered the art of casting *matrices*, and cutting punches, the art must have remained imperfect and barbarous. Many difficulties were still to be overcome; lead alone was too soft, and a mixture of hammered iron was added to it; and, with this composition, to which tin was sometimes added, printing was carried on till latterly, when chemistry was called in to its aid, and, by the addition of one pound of *Regulus of Antimony* to five pounds of lead, a happy and complete composition hath been obtained, hard enough to bear the press, and yet soft enough to allow the knife, and even the *plane*, for the subsequent operations in fitting and completing the letters for the *press*. The punch, therefore, of steel; the mould of that and wood; the matrix of copper; and this composed metal, are all that are necessary for letter-founding.

Although I may offend Mr. Nichols by going over again ground that hath been already trodden, in treating the subject I must not lose the advantage of offering the authorities in favour of Mentz, as I have done those for Harlem, merely because they have been produced before; if they had been attended to, as well as produced, perhaps there would have been no occasion for this trouble to myself and the reader.

[a] Meerman, t. I. p. 117.

To begin then with our own country. Aldridge, in the Black Book, or Register of the Garter, vol. II. p. 161, published by Anstis, speaking of the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Sixth, writes thus :

“ In this year of our most pious king, 1457, the art of printing books first began at *Mentz*, a famous city of *Germany*.” N. B. Aldridge was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1507 ; though possibly born about the time, he says nothing of Turnour's and Caxton's journey, nor one word of Harlem.

Fabian, writing of the year 1457, says ; “ After the *opinion* of many writers (this must refer to the claim of Strasburgh, adopted by several), the craft of imprinting books began in a city of Alemagne named *Mayence*, which, since that time, hath had wonderful encrease.”

Caxton, in his Polychronicon, relating the events of 1455, says : “ About this time the craft of imprinting books was found in Mogunce, in Allemayne ; why the craft is multiplied through the world, and books be had great cheap, and in great number, because of the same craft.”

Caxton was abroad from 1441 to 1471, chiefly in Flanders and Holland, in the very neighbourhood of Harlem, and yet doth not seem to have heard of the invention there. We know he was abroad in 1459, the time of Turnour's journey, as he says in his *Recueil de Troy*, at his *great charge and trouble*, learning the art of *imprinting*. Supposing the art went no farther there than the blocks of wood, in that state it must have struck such a curious man, at that time busied himself to learn it, with wonder and astonishment, and induced him to make some mention of it, as the basis on which the subsequent improvements, which Nichols will have it
detained

detained him abroad, depended, if he had not been *desirous* to learn more of it than Corfellis could teach, who went no farther than the blocks of wood [a].

Ex epitome rerum Germ. Script. 1502, cap 65.

“Anno Christi 1440, Frederico III. Romanorum imperatore regente, magnum quoddam, ac pene divinum beneficium collatum est universo terrarum orbi a *Joanne Gutenberg*, Argentinenfi, novo scribendi genere reperto. Is enim primus artem impressoriam, quam Latiniore vocant *excusoriam*, in urbe Argentinenfi invenit. Inde *Moguntiam* veniens, eandem feliciter complevit [b].”

Hen. Wirczburg de Vach, in fasciculo temporum Werneri Rolevinck de Laer, aucto ad ann. 1457. This was continued afterwards to 1474, and published 1481. Librorum impressionis scientia subtilissima, omnibus sæculis inaudita, reperitur in urbe *Moguntina* [c].

Eraſmus aſcribes explicitly the invention to Mentz and to Fuſt. In his epiſtle dedicatory to an edition of Livy in 1519, printed at Mentz by young Schoeffer; he ſays: “Huic urbi (Moguntia) omnes bonarum literarum ſtudioſi, non parum debent, ob egregium illud ac pene divinum inventum, *ſtanneis typis* excudendi libros.” He alſo ſays: “Atque hujus quidem laudis præcipua portio debetur hujus, pene divini dixerim, opificii repertoribus, quorum princeps fuiſſe fertur, totius ævi memoria celebrandus, Joannes Fuſt, avus ejus, cui Livium hunc, tum auctum duobus volu minibus, tum innumeris locis ex codice vetuſtiſſimo caſtigatum debemus, ut hoc egregium decus, partim ad Joan. Schoeffer, velut hæreditario jure devolvatur, partim ad *Moguntia* civitatis gloriam pertineat d]. If Eraſmus knew of this invention at Harlem, would his vanity, as a Dutchman, have ſuppreſſed all mention of it?

[a] Bowyer, p. 11. [b] Meerman, t. II. p. 139. [c] Ib. p. 122. [d] Ib. p. 157.

“ Imp-

“Imp. Maximiliani privilegium ad impressionem T. Livii per J. Schoeffer, an. 1519.

“Maximilianus, &c. honesto nostro, et sacri imperii fideli nobis dilecto J. Shoeffler Calcographo Moguntino, gratiam nostram Cæsaream et omne bonum. Cum sicut *docti et moniti* sumus fide *dignorum* testimonio, ingeniosum Calcographiæ, *authore avo tuo, inventum*, felicibus incrementis in universum orbem promnaverit, &c. Proinde volentes tibi, tum ob *avum* tuum, tam omni vel ob hoc divinum inventum favore et commendatione dignum, succurrere, &c. . . . omnibus Calcographis inhibemus, &c. to print this work [a].”

Dedicatio T. Livii Germanice versi, editique an. 1505. Imp. Maximiliano inscripta.

“Hoc opus, quod in laudatissima urbe *Moguntia* exantlatum atque impressum est, Imperatoria tua majestas benigne recipiat, in qua etiam primum admiranda *ars typographica* ab ingenioso Joanne Gutenbergio, ann. a nativitate Christi 1450, inventa; et posthac *studio, sumtu, et labore* Johannis Fust, et Petri Schoefferi *Moguntia emendata* et ad posteros propagata est; unde huic urbi non Germanica solum natio sed omnis etiam terrarum orbis æternas laudes optimeque promeritas debet, ejusque cives atque incolæ hoc jure legitime fruuntur [b].”

There appears all the candour in this account that should give credit to it. The first invention is honestly ascribed to Gutenberg. This must be allowed, as far as the faint attempts to discover the art had been made by him; but which would not have been completed without the help of Fust. Would Erasmus have countenanced this bold assertion; would he suffer the emperor to credit it, or could the emperor himself, after consulting so many *able persons*, believe Schoeffer; if this claim, at that time, had not been generally acknowledged, and no claim from Harlem known or heard of?

[a] Meerman, t. II. p. 147,

[b] *Ibid.* p. 145.

Ex Epistola Trithemii ad Jacob. Kymolanum, data 1507.
Lib. II. Epist. 44.

“Ars, quam vocant impressoriam, tempore infantiae meae, apud *Moguntiam*, metropolim Francorum, inventa, infinita pene et veterum et novorum volumina quotidie producit in lucem [a].” This writer I shall soon bring forward again as the best, fullest, and most conclusive, authority I can produce.

Ex Chronico Sponheimensi (scripta ann. 1506, et seq.) ad an. 1450.

“His quoque temporibus, ars imprimendi et characterizandi libros a novo reperta est (if this doth not refer to the *Chinese* who have been *pressed* into this dispute, I confess I do not understand it) in civitate *Moguntina*, per quendam civem, qui Joannes Gutenberg dicebatur; qui cum omnem substantiam, propter nimiam difficultatem inventionis novae, in eam perficiendam exposuisset, *concilio* et auxilio bonorum virorum Joannis Fust et aliorum adjutus, rem inceptam perfecit. Primus autem hujus artis dilatator fuit, post ipsum inventorem, Petrus Opilioni de Gernsheim, qui multa volumina suo tempore impressit. Morabatur autem praefatus J. Guttenberg *Moguntiae* in domo dicta *zum Jungen*, quae domus usque in praesentem diem illius novae artis nomine *dignoscitur* insignita [b].” So we have a house to shew as well as Harlem for the invention, though not quite so old.

Ex Epit. rerum. Germ. cap. 65, per Joannem Wymphilingium. He was born in 1450, and lived till 1528; his authority, therefore, is considerable.

“Quod ergo nonnulli adscribunt excellentissimae rei inventionem civi *Moguntino*, et nonnulli quidem *Joan. Fusto*, et ad annum circiter 1452, prorogant artem primum; inde accidit quod primus inventor excogitavit a se artem in patria (this must be Guttenberg) *Moguntia* descendens, aliis etiam adjunctis, perfectiorem reddidit; quae quidem paulatim ad eam perfectionem, quem nunc habet, producta est,

[a] Meerman, t. II. p. 127.

[b] Ibid.

nam principio *lignæ tabulæ* inscripserunt literas, quæ paginam libri complectuntur. Id quia magni sumptus et laboris fuit excogitati sunt *typi lignei* connexiles, ut filum, per foramina singulorum inducta in versum *unum connectuit*, pluribus autem versibus deinceps serie conjunctis, pagina expleta est: tandem excogitarunt ingeniosos artifices imaginem literæ in ferrum *incidere*, atque imprimere architypo æreo, quem vocant *matriculam*, atque in eo plurimas literas ejusdem formæ ex *stanneo* fundere; porro litteræ omnes in ærea patula per *loculos* digeruntur, e quibus compositiones formularum literas connectantes, paginas implent, quæ conclusæ marginibus ferreis prelo subjiciuntur, ejusque atramentum, aut alterius coloris pigmentum, vernice temperatum, ut tenacius hæreat, pelliceis pilis inducitur, illisque chartæ humectatæ librario, prælo validius imprimuntur ut scriptum excipiant." This is the first mention of the wooden types.

Narratio Schoefferi de inventione Calcographiæ quam servavit Jo. Trithemius in annalibus Hirsaugienfibus. t. II. ad ann. 1450, p. 421.

"His temporibus in civitate Moguntina Germaniæ prope Rhenum, et non in *Italia*, ut quidam falso scripserunt, inventa et excogitata est ars illa mirabilis et *prius inaudita* (very strong) imprimendi et characterizandi libros per *Joannem Guttenberger*, civem Moguntinum (this honour gives great weight to Schoeffer's testimony) qui cum omnem pene substantiam suam pro inventione hujus artis exposuisset, et nimia difficultate laborans, jam in isto, jam in alio deficeret, jamque prope esset, ut desperatus negotium intermitteret, *consilio* tandem et impensis (very strong) Joan. Fuit, æque civis Moguntini, rem perfecit inceptam. In primis igitur characteribus literarum in *tabulis ligneis* per ordinem sculptis, formisque compositis vocabularium, *Catbolicon* nuncupatum, imprefferunt, sed cum iisdem formis nihil aliud potuerunt imprimere, eo quod cha-

characteres non fuerunt amovibiles de tabulis, sed insculpti, sicut diximus (very plain). Post hæc inventis successerunt subtiliora, inveneruntque modum fundendi formas omnium alphabeti Latini literarum, quas ipsi *matrices* nominabant, ex quibus rursum *æneos sive stanneos characteres fundebant*, ad omnem pressuram sufficientes, quos priùs *manibus sculpebant*. Et revera sicuti ante xxx ferme annos ex ore Petri Opilionis de Gernsheim, civis Moguntini, qui *gener* erat primi artis inventoris, audiui, magnam a primo inventionis suæ hæc ars impressoria habuit difficultatem. Namque impressuri *Bibliam* priusquam tertium complessent in opere quaternionem, (N.B. A quire of four sheets goes to the *quaternion*;) plusquam 4000 florenorum exposuerunt. Petrus autem memoratus Opilio, tunc famulus, postea *gener*, sicut diximus, inventoris primi, Joan. Fust, homo ingeniosus et prudens, faciliorem modum fundendi characteres excogitavit, et artem, ut nunc est, complevit. Et hi tres imprimendi modum aliquandiu tenuerunt occultum, quo usque per famulos, sine quorum ministerio artem ipsam exercere non poterant, divulgatus fuit, in *Argentineses* primo, et paulatim in omnes nationes [a]."

This relation to Trithemius was in 1484, not 40 years after the invention.

It is from some part of this account, possibly, that Meerman grounds his notion of the *fuso-sculpti*; but, if he will attend to the words, he will find the letters *were cast*, not all cut with the knife, as he contends; and not much different from what is done now, in which the letters, though *cast* in the *matrices*, want the assistance of the knife to complete them.

This seems to be as plain and as full an account of the discovery as we can expect. Few, if any, of the discoveries of the ancient arts have reached us so well authenticated and explained. We have here the son-in law of the inventor of the art, the principal *improver* of it *himself*, by the introduc-

[a] Meerman, t. II. p. 103.

tion of the *fusile* metal types, giving this fair and modest account to Trithemius, *honestly* giving to Guttenberg the honour of the first invention. If his modesty and candour led him to give up this praise to Guttenberg, what could induce him to withhold it from *Coster* and *Harlem*, if he had known, (and know it he must,) that any such claim had existed.

The whole dispute, I think, might be settled by this single testimony. I could have added the many colophons in the books printed by Fust and Schoeffer, insisting on this honour; but, Meerman is pleased to reject them for reasons that I think his readers will not allow the force of. If their truth had been doubted, it is strange that no champion for *Coster* and *Harlem* would impeach them, till Mr. Meerman, *resolutely*, three hundred years after the invention, hath thought proper to reprobate them.

To what unpardonable lengths a party spirit will carry writers will be seen from the following authority, which should *properly precede* the account by Trithemius from Schoeffer.

Carle Van Mander, nearly cotemporary with Junius, though he commemorates many artists of inferior fame, says nothing of *Coster*, or his pretended discovery; but, in speaking of the *mariner's compass*, and its wonderful utility, proceeds thus: "Que les anciens écrivains ne le seroient pas moins (surpris) quand ils verront l'art plus utile de la typographie, dont la ville d'*Harlem* s'arroge la premiere invention *avec assez de présomption*." These are his genuine words in his own edition of 1604, fol. 300; but, in a late edition of 1764, these offensive words, "*avec assez de présomption*" are altered, *monstrum horrendum!* into "*dont Harlem avec assez de fondement s'attribue l'invention:*" What a cause to want such supports!

XXIII. *Observations on Episcopal Chairs and Stone Seats; as also on Piscinas and other appendages to Altars still remaining in Chancels; with a Description of Chalk Church, in the Diocese of Rochester. In a Letter from Mr. Charles Clarke, to the Rev. Samuel Denne, F.A.S.*

Read March 21, 1793.

REVEREND SIR,

AMONG the ecclesiastical remains of this country the seats fixed on the South side the chancels of parochial and other churches, having but very lately been honoured with a share in the labours of your pen, I judged you might receive some trifling gratification in being made acquainted that a religious edifice, at a small distance from this place, was decorated with a specimen of these reliques, nearly unique. This information you were not only pleased kindly to accept, but also to favour me, by signifying your desire that I should give an explanation of this and similar appendages. Stimulated by your wishes, and happy in the proposed opportunity of collecting together my scattered notions on these and one or two relative subjects, I am now about to offer to your consideration the best account I have been enabled to obtain, of the uses for which they were designed by our ancestors; and permit me to observe, on the part of my endeavour, that little or nothing has been hazarded to conjecture, that what-

ever favoured of mystery, or was any way phantastical, has been as much as possible avoided ; and that, as far as they could be had, vouchers of the most genuine worth in such affairs have been consulted and produced : “ *Authoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus : quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum : et primum quidem omni antiquitate ; quæ quo propius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, quæ erant vera, cernebat [a].*”

From very early times, the custom of being seated during certain parts of divine offices appears to have obtained in the churches of the Christians. This rite is spoken of in the most approved authors, who have left on record the times in which it was practised, and in what place and manner the chair of the bishop, as well as the seats of the clergy and the choir, were disposed ; and we shall see the same practices descending uniformly, notwithstanding the varieties in ceremonial so frequently to be found, particularly in the Latin churches. Passing by those times of persecution and obloquy, under which Christianity laboured in its first foundation, when it is said divine things were dispensed in caves and obscure places ; and before it is likely any regular plan of ecclesiastical erection could possibly take place, let us endeavour to discover, as far as may be necessary to the present object, what kind of buildings the first churches might have been : “ *Prisci etenim Christi fideles in ædificiis construendis Gentilium imitatores, ad eorum similitudinem sacra templa erigebant, vel ab ethnicis jam erecta, ab omni profanæ superstitionis labe expiata, divinos in usus aptabant : ut innuit Ausonius in gratiarum actione pro consulatu : “ Basilicæ olim negotiis plenæ nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis.” Et Isidorus Originum*

[a] Tusc. Disput. l. I, 12.

lib. V. “Basilicæ prius vocabantur regum habitacula, nunc autem ideo Basilicæ divina templa nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offeruntur [b].”

Upon the authority of Isidore it should seem the basilicæ of the ancients were the palaces of their kings; but they were rather buildings of royal foundation, assigned to public use, and in which kings were supposed to have distributed justice to their subjects. Among the Romans they appear very early to have built their law courts, and exchanges for their merchants, in much the same form, and to have known them by the same appellation. Of these there were nineteen in the city: they were accommodated with several porticos and tribunals, variously disposed; the spot appropriated to the tribunal was of a semicircular form, and when they were applied, on the early establishment of Christianity, for holding religious assemblies, here sat the bishop, on an elevated seat, having his family on either hand, and the altar in his front, it becoming afterwards the abis of the church. In the Apostolic Constitutions [c] we are informed that the church should resemble a ship, be extended in length, and turned towards the east: here on each side is to be placed a chamber sacristy (*partiphoria*) or chapel [d]. The episcopal seat ought to be placed in the midst, towards the East, and the seats of the priests on each side. This, with the position of the altar, is also mentioned by Eusebius, in his account of the church at Tyre. “Porro sanctuario hoc modo absoluto et perfecto, sellisque in altissimo loco ad præsidium ecclesiæ honorem collocatis, altarique denique tanquam sancto sanctorum in medio sanctuarii sito [e].”

[b] Ciampini *Vetera Monumenta*, vol. I. p. 9. Romæ, 1690.

[c] Lib. II.

[d] For keeping the ornaments, the sacred vessels, and other things necessary in the Holy ministry. It is thus also the churches of the Greeks are represented. Le Brun, vol. II. p. 9.

[e] *Histor. Eccl.* lib. X.

We also observe, in the same author, that a ballustrade enclosed this sanctuary: "cancellis ex ligno fabricatis circumdedit." This part so enclosed also took the name of *abfis*, vault, or arcade; and in most of the ancient churches ended in a semicircular form. Before this vault was also placed the choir, with the *ambon*, for the accommodation of those whose duty it was to sing the divine offices. Agreeing with the above except in the last particular, is the description from Eusebius, of the churches of Tyre, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, given by Sir George Wheeler, prebendary of Durham, in the last age, assisted by a view of several very ancient in the Eastern world. Of this disposition could many more examples be adduced, in Rome, and other parts, particularly the most venerable church of St. Clement, so amply described by Ciampini. Deeming it would much conduce towards the understanding the above disposition, and the elucidating the following deductions, I here present you with a plan of an ancient basilica, as given and described by the Rev. Claud de Vert [*f*]. There can be little doubt, that, prior to the persecution of Diocletian, there were many churches thus regularly built; so much may be affirmed on

[*f*] In his "Explication simple, littéraire, et historique, des cérémonies de l'Eglise." Tom. III. Paris, 1713. See Plate XIV. See also the explanation at the end.

In Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. III. p. 511. 8vo edit. there is a plan of an ancient church, with its exedra, as described by Eusebius; and at p. 148, there are four plans of ancient churches with the under-written titles*; but in not one of these plans are there three seats situated on the South side of the altar, corresponding to those marked by the letters A. B. C. according to the description of M. Claud de Vert. S. D.

- * Iconographia Templorum Orientalium.
- - - - - Beveregii.
- - - - - Leonis Allatii.
- - - - - partis interioris S. Sophiae.

the

Fig. 1.

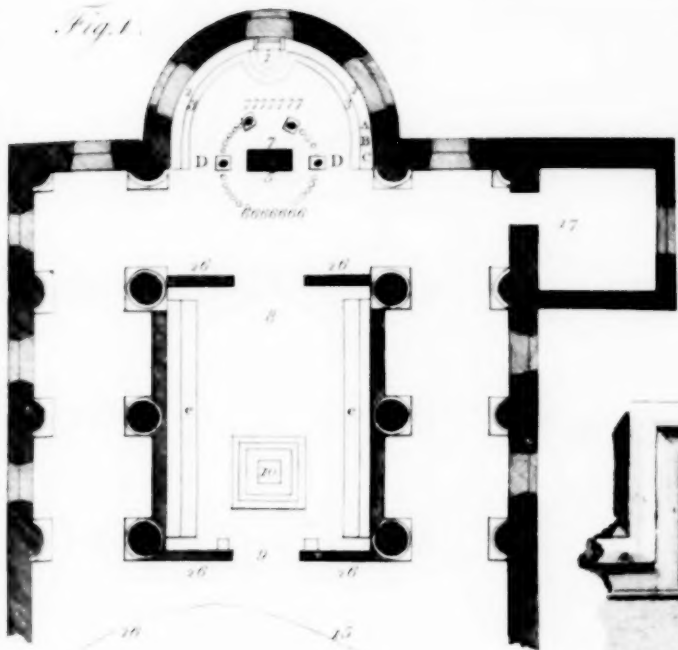


Fig. 3.



Fig. 2.

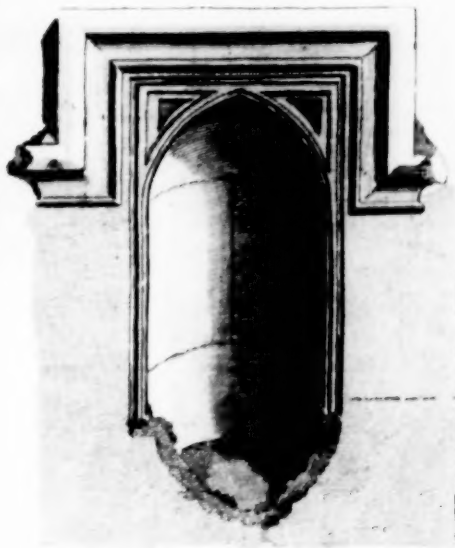


Fig. 4.

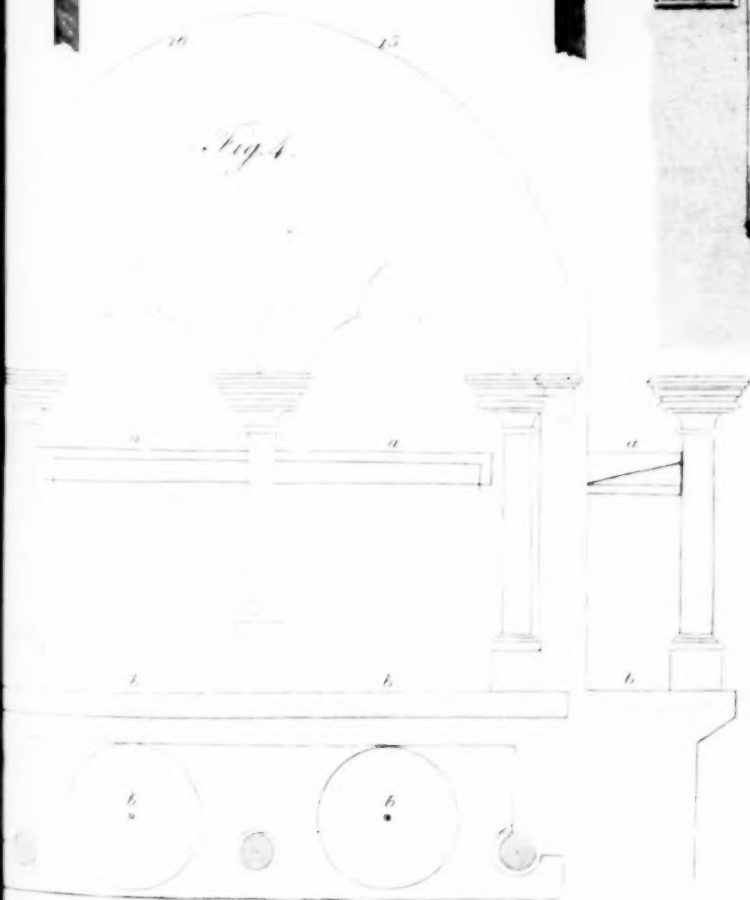


Fig. 5.



the authority of Eusebius, who relates, the Christians, in the time of Constantine, not satisfied with rebuilding the old, erected, in every city, spacious churches from the very foundations; and thus it is likely many were built under the Christian Emperors. No fewer than forty of the kind called *basilicæ* are said, by Optatus, to have been in Rome about the middle of the fourth century; and it may be deemed a certainty, that the mode of erecting the sacred edifice, then generally in use, passed over into this country as a suitable accompaniment to the glad tidings brought from that place by Augustine and his followers; and became in like manner the custom of our Island.

It is evident from one of the canons of the council of Carthage, held A. D. 398 [g], that the bishop and clergy should be seated, as already described. This council being approved by Leo III. who possessed the papal chair from 795 to 816, accounts for the practice of the Western church, in the performance of this rite, at the end of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth centuries. Durande, bishop of Maude, equally accounts for it in the twelfth. "*Quia ergo Episcopus speculator est, ideo ex institutione Clementis primi [b] cathedra sive locus in ecclesia altior est, ut superintendat et populum custodiat, omnes conspiciat et illum cuncti [i].*" "*Sedens autem stat conversus ad populum, sed etiam in loco eminentiore ut*

[g] Ut Episcopus in ecclesia in confessu clericorum sublimior sedeat. Summa Concil. 152. Parisiis, 1645.

[b] Here a reference is evidently made to the apostolic constitutions, attributed to St. Clement the first, bishop of Rome, though not earlier than the fourth century; but had this custom there mentioned not been equally in use when Durand lived, it is highly improbable it would have been noticed in his writings, undertaken for the instruction of his own time.

[i] Durandi Rationale, lib. II. c. xi. n. 2. Lugduni, 1612.

quasi vineator custodiat vineam suam et populo superintendat &c].” The *Ordo Romanus* also marks the elevation of the episcopal throne ; “*furgens pontifex a sede descendit ad altare* :” on which de Vert remarks, that, though the altar was raised on a single marche or platform that it might be seen from all parts, it was yet ever lower than the pontifical seat, generally raised on several steps [1]. This is also the language of the pontifical and ceremonial, and shews the situation in which the church has thought worthy significantly to place her chief pastors in every age ; and though many ceremonies have become obsolete, and many considerably changed, and the *confectus clericorum* is now not always found occupying its ancient situation, yet the episcopal seat in the bishop’s church, and the chair of state or *sedistorium* used in actual celebration or pontifical duties in any other, have been thus elevated, and upon all occasions fronted the people ; this very mode of placing, distinguishing the episcopal from the sacerdotal character. As a further confirmation, it may not, in this place, be improper to take a view of the disposition and actual practices of several of the most famous cathedrals in France, between which, and our own country, in the affair of religion, there was a considerable intercourse. In the cathedral of St. John, at Lyons, the sanctuary or presbytery is yet an existing example. The episcopal throne is raised on four steps at the end of the *abfis*, on each side of which, adjoining the wall, is a large stone circular bench, intended as a seat for a great many officers, who assist the archbishop when he celebrates pontifically on the three grand festivals of the year ; viz. six priests, seven deacons, portcrofs, portcrofier, and chaplains : there are likewise seven sub-deacons,

[1] Durand, ib. lib. IV. c. xviii. n. 1.

[2] Tom III. p. 38.

with as many *ceroferarii*, but these are not permitted to be seated with the rest on these solemn occasions [m]. In like manner in the cathedral of St. Maurice, at Vienne, the archbishop is thus seated and attended. The cathedral at Rheims affords another example; but the throne, situated as usual in the *abfis*, being extremely encumbered by the monument of the cardinal Lorrain, a compliance with the ancient practice has for some time been discontinued; nor does it appear to be made use of, except when the archbishop takes possession of his church: yet the ancient disposition is preserved by this prelate, and his chair of state is fixt before the altar, facing the choir and the nave, having its back towards the East. It is thus at Laon, Soissons, &c. and seems nearly the general custom. From the *Ordo Romanus* and Durand, it appears, that the bishop, seated by the side of the altar, has, in like manner, a view of the people [n], "*fedet versus ad populum*." Such is the situation of the archbishop of Cambray, when pontifically officiating, as may be seen from the placing his chair, always fixed in the sanctuary, on the epistle side, having, as has been before observed, at Rheims, its back to the East [o]. In the famous cathedral at Rouen, which has flourished from the fourth age, are also the remains of the throne, occupying its so frequently instanced situation, though now forsaken for a magnificent chair or *faldistorium*. At the end of the choir are stalls of an unusual elevation,

[m] *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, par le sieur de Moleon, vol. XLV. à Paris, 1718.

[n] Il paroît par l'ordre Romain, et par ce que dit Durand, en son *Rational* Liv. cap. 18 qu'au rit Romain l'Evesque, assis à côté de l'autel, regardoit pareillement le peuple. De Vert, vol. IV. p. 26.

Should this be the sense of Durand, the foregoing citations from him may not fully answer their intended design, but shew that the mode of fixing a chair of state for the bishop, by the side of the altar, was in use in his time.

[o] De Vert, vol. IV. p. 26.

erected in 1467 [p]. Thus also is situated the patriarchal throne at Rome; and when a celebration is performed by a bishop in the absence of the Pope, he is placed on one of the seats which surround the presbytery about the altar; and consequently on one side: "Pergit ad dextram altaris ad sedem suam," says the Ordo Romanus, speaking of a bishop when the pope is not present [q]. Having offered to your consideration some eminent examples in Italy and France, let us take a view of one or two at home. Formerly, in the cathedral at Norwich, the bishop's chair was placed between the easternmost pillars of the presbytery (of the ancient circular form) and immediately behind the high altar; it was ascended by three steps, and raised so high, that before the erection of the rood-loft the bishop could see directly in a line through the whole church [r]. But a more eminent example have we in our metropolitan church at Canterbury. In this noble church the archbishop had a seat or *saldistorium* at the end of the choir stalls. This was his place when present only at divine offices; but for pontifical celebrations another was provided behind the altar, similarly situated to those we have had so frequently under notice [s]. In the history of Canterbury is given the record of the enthronization of archbishop Winchelsea, from which, as it particularizes the uses of both situations, I will offer a short extract: "After the archbishop had prostrated himself some time in prayer before the high altar, and given his benediction to the people, he withdrew himself to his wooden seat [t] in the choir, while Te Deum

[p] Voyages Liturg, p. 267.

[q] De Vert, vol. IV. p. 25.

[r] Blomefield's Norfolk, History of Norwich, p. 510.

[s] Somner's History of Canterbury, Appendix, Scriptura xvj.

[t] Sedes lignea. Ibid.

was performing by the convent. The archbishop then retires, and being clothed superbly in *pontificalibus* again enters the choir, with the prior, three cardinal deacons, and as many cardinal subdeacons ; and, while an anthem is singing, he, with his attendants, being turned towards the East, they make a station, near the shrine of St. Blaze, before the marble seat [u] ; to which, at length being introduced, and a short station being made before it, he is then solemnly enthroned. The whole being reduced to a public act by a notary ; the mass of the Holy Trinity is begun ; the archbishop, before his seat facing the East, begins the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and reads the collects in the same situation. The Gospel being finished, he begins the Creed, and gives the *Dominus Vobiscum* : he then descends from his seat, and, presenting himself before the high altar, receives, as is customary, the offering of bread and wine from the chanter. The archbishop then finishes the whole mass, nor returns again that day to his chair. The high altar, in this cathedral, appears to have been isolated, as were those of the earliest antiquity. In the room of the *ciborium* a beam or cornice was supported by two pillars, one at each of the Eastern corners ; on this were placed *capsæ*, containing relicks, the whole much adorned. The metropolitan chair has also been removed from the place it had occupied so many centuries, and is now fixed at the East end of the chapel of the Trinity, opposite the entrance to Becket's crown [w].

Having

[u] Sedes marmorea.

[w] The great length of the presbytery, in the cathedral church at Rochester, was, on another occasion *, attempted to be accounted for, by supposing the altar to have been isolated for the sake of the Monks surrounding it in procession ; but when it is considered, this cathedral, as well as those at Canterbury and London, owe their first foundations to the pious munificence of our Saxon Ethelbert,

* In the Gent. Mag. for August 1787.

and

Having seen the mode of using the pontifical throne, on the church being taken possession of, it will be but just necessary to observe, that the celebrating bishop is solemnly and processionally introduced to the foot of the altar, where, with his attendants, having made the confession, he takes his seat, and finishes the service as before described. His ministers are also seated according to their rank, whose number varies in different places; the throne is also used when the canonical offices of the breviary are said by the bishop.

We have now seen the origin and progress of the bishop's seat as fixed in his church or cathedral. Let us, in the next place, take a view of the same officer occasionally performing pontifical functions in any other, on some of the most particular occasions from the Roman pontifical.

Ordo ad visitandas Parochias.

Ipso prælato ante altare in faldistorium genua flectente, dicitur sequens oratio.

Qua finita pontifex surgens accedit ad altare majus, &c.

and were constructed under the immediate inspection of Roman monks, it may not be out of the way to suppose the high altar and episcopal seat to have had, originally, a like situation in each of these famous cities, where also the cathedrals seem to have been rebuilt by their first Norman bishops, and to have undergone their several vast subsequent repairs; and thus the placing these particulars in our metropolitan church, as they continued to the time of the reformation, may suggest their situation in the other two, till the same period; nor is the monument of a bishop in the presbytery at Rochester of any moment, when the place of the shrine of St. Blaze is considered; and, if the spot formerly occupied by the altar was to be pointed out, it might be, with but little room for hesitation, assigned to the middle of the sanctuary, opposite the head of this tomb, which then lay between it and the episcopal chair: the situation of the triple seat, which would have been at so unusual a distance from the altar, if ever against the East wall of the presbytery, adds weight to this conjecture.

Deinde

Deinde vel in medio missæ versus ad populum sedens proponit populo causas adventus sui, &c. [x].

De Confirmandis.

Pontifex &c.— accedit ad faldistorium ante medium altaris aut in alio conveniente loco sibi paratum et in eo sedens renibus altare et facie ad populum versis.

De ecclesiæ consecratione seu dedicatione.

Pontifex mane in suo habitu quotidiano venit ad ecclesiam: ordinat in ecclesia consecranda quæ ordinanda sunt, et ejus jussu accenduntur præmissæ duodecim candelæ; et faldistorium ornatum ponitur supra tapete in medio ecclesiæ.

Septem Psalmis expletis redit pontifex cum ministris ante fores ecclesiæ consecrandæ, et parato ibi alio super tapete faldistorium.

Consecratio Altaris.

Post hæc accepta mitra sedet (pontifex) et ministri extergunt mensam altaris cum linteo mundo et mox &c.

Post hæc subdiaconi abstergunt diligenter cum mantilibus telæ grossæ mensam altaris. Pontifex accedit ad sedem suam juxta altaris, in qua cum mitra sedens fricat bene manus cum medulla panis, et lavat, et extergit.

De altaris consecratione quæ fit sine ecclesiæ dedicatione.

Pontifex mane suo habitu quotidiano venit ad ecclesiam, et sedens in sede ad dextram vel in faldistorio ad sinistram altaris consecrandi &c.

[x] Cardinalis ipse mox aderat a loco sancto visitationem auspicaturus, ubique e fuggestu vel sede super aræ gradum posita sacris alloquiis populos instruebat; ministrabit eis Eucharistiæ sacramentum, ecclesiæ novellos milites chrismate sacro inungebat. Vita Cardinalis Bellarmini Capuæ Episcopi, p. 289. Antwerpæ, 1631.

Pontifex cum ministris accedit coram altare consecrando : qua dicta, pontifex procumbit super faldistorium ibidem (viz. before the altar, as in the last rubric) præparatum ; post hæc pontifex accedit ad sedem suam juxta altare.

In conferring orders the bishop is directed by the pontifical “ accepta mitra accedere ad sedem suam vel ad faldistorium in cornu epistolæ ;” by which it seems to be understood that he is, if in his cathedral church, at liberty to use either his fixed seat or throne, or a state chair temporally placed at the epistle horn of the altar, which latter direction points out the custom of performing this rite in any other, or in the private chapels of episcopal mansions. This remark may tend to diffuse some light on the pontifical rubric for the consecration of an altar without the church, being at the same time dedicated, as it leads to a supposition, that if the altar was in the presbytery of the cathedral, the bishop is very naturally directed to seat himself in the pontifical throne, viz. “ in sede ad dextram,” but, that when this is wanting, as it ever is out of the bishop's church, a faldistorium is to be placed on the opposite side, which therefore must have been the mode in every other. The bishop is thus also placed while attending mass.

“ Latus epistolæ congruit a qua parte est credentia, et ut cedat latus evangelii episcopo sedenti si adsit.” (Gaventi Comment. in Rubricas, Part I. Tit. xvii. No. VI. viz. “ In missa item solemni celebrans medius inter diaconum et subdiaconum sedere potest, &c.”) However, it may yet be contended that the seats hereafter to be particularly described, notwithstanding they do not front the people, an etiquette which seems to have been particularly observed by the antients, though possibly not so strictly adhered to in very modern times, were an accommodation for the mass to be said immediately

diately after the consecration of the church or altar ; but to this it may be replied, that the performance of this first celebration is left to the bishop's option, a proviso being thus made in case of over-fatigue from the weight of foregoing ceremonial ; as also since it appears from Durand (Ration. l. ii. c. 12,) and modern custom, that the bishop is at least attended at the altar in solemn masses, such as would have been then performed by at least three ministers ; viz. an assisting priest, who is seated on his right, a deacon and subdeacon also seated on his left, it must follow, that upon this notion these arches could never have been fewer than four in number. In low or private masses, the bishop, cardinal, &c. is placed in the middle space before the altar, from whom the priest, having received permission, begins the mass *A Cornu Evangelii* [x].

To an abbot, there is reason to think, was conceded much the same observance in the rite of sitting, as to the episcopal dignity, possibly in consideration of his pastoral charge [y]. In the collegiate church of St. Peter at Vienne is a seat of white marble, elevated on three steps behind the altar at the East end of the *abfis*. This church was formerly a famous Benedictine abbey of near 500 monks ; and here was the abbot placed at mass on the great solemnities. The church of St. Stephen at Dijon, formerly likewise an abbey, now collegiate and parochial, has the grand altar in the middle of the choir. There is also an abbé in this church, who has a right to the mitre and cross as at Vienne, whose seat, at the bottom of the *abfis*, has on each side a circular bench for the

[x] See Gavanti Commentaria in Rubricas, p. 2. tit. iii. No. II. viz. De principio missæ et confessione faciendæ ; et Archæolog. vol. X. p. 305. et seq.

[y] Selon le cérémoniale de Bursfield. L'Abbé assis à l'autel doit de même faire face au chœur. De Vert, tom. IV. p. 36.

use of the canons, anciently named the presbytery, and *confessus clericorum*.

These last remarks are introduced as shewing the pomp in which the head of a monastery was allowed to celebrate, and as probably leading to a discovery of the purpose for which Edward I. presented the chair of state to the mitred abbey church of Westminster. Chairs of this kind were, however, provided for the celebrating priest in many of those churches where high mass was celebrated daily, as it seems the deacon and subdeacon were frequently placed on the choir stalls nearest the altar ; but on the Sundays and Festivals they were seated with the priest, as will be shortly noticed.

It is a certain fact, were nothing farther to be advanced, it would be evident that the seats which grace so many of our ancient cathedral, collegiate, but particularly our parochial churches, and formed such suitable appendages for the more solemn celebration of the divine rites of the former religion of this country, could never be intended for the use of the diocesan, or any other episcopal character by him delegated to the discharge of pontifical duties out of the cathedral. But as it is now time to take the more immediate subject of this paper into consideration, permit me once again to draw your regard to the same sacred source, primitive institution ; whence I flatter myself I shall be equally well enabled to point out the mode of placing the ministers of the altar and their attendants.

In the so frequently cited *abfis* of the ancient church was, on either hand of the episcopal throne, a curved bench, whose use, as has been already pointed out, was for accommodating the concelebrating clergy with seats, from which service is derived their appellation of *Synthronus* and *Confessus*. The church, it may be remembered, is directed to be turned to-

wards the East, and that there shall be on either hand a chamber, chapel, or sacristy, as a repository for the sacred vestments and vessels, as also for the preparation of the clergy for the altar. The chamber on the South side of the *abfis* appears generally to have been appropriated to this purpose; convenience particularly directing, that the sacristy should be on the right of the altar, for the greater ease of the priest in celebration. Thus, among the Greeks, is always placed the sacristy or *diaconicon*, and on the opposite the *prothesis* or altar of preparation. In many of the Latin churches mentioned by Paulinus, there was on either hand of the sanctuary a chamber or sacristy, the one being a deposit for the sacred writings, the other for the ministry, *alma sacri pompa ministerii* [z]. A list of eminent churches in France, whose vestries are on the South side, is given by De Vert [a], and the like rule it is likely was frequently observed at home. To this original disposition of the sacristy is owing the preference given to the right or South side of the altar for the performance of all the parts of the divine offices not said at the altar itself. To this the reading the Gospel being almost the only exception: For, the right or South side, the presbytery first presenting itself to the priest and his ministers in their progress from the sacristy for the celebration of high mass, they stopped short naturally, placing themselves there for the commencement of the service [b], where they remained till

[z] Le Brun, v. II. p. 69.

[a] IV. 24.

[b] IV. Demande.

Il revient toujours à savoir pourquoy les ministres se plaçoient à gauche dans le sanctuaire, ou presbytere, c'est à dire en la partie méridionale de l'Eglise que l'on suppose encore icy tournée à l'orient?

U u 2

Response.

till about the offertory [c]; this choice, having conveniency alone for its basis, appears afterwards to have become the settled custom; and, independent of the situation of the sacristy, it was sufficient that the celebrant and his ministers coming to the altar should find this side on their right, for naturally taking possession of it for the above purpose. It might, however, seem more proper, that the priest should be placed at the bottom of the church above the altar, that he might thus have the people in face, rather than be seated sideways, where he can neither see nor be seen but obliquely. But this appears to be the privilege of the pope at Rome, and the bishops in their cathedrals; so that, as it has been before observed, a bishop officiating in the absence of the Pope, or a simple priest in the absence of the bishop, is obliged to be seated on one of the seats which terminate the circuit of the presbytery [d] near the altar, and consequently on one side.

“ Pergit

Response.

C'est que ce costé là se présente la premiere au sortir de la sacristie, qui plus ordinairement étoit située à droit en entrant dans l'Eglise; en sorte que le prestre aux masses hautes s'y arresloit tout court avec ses ministres pour commencer la messe, & y rester comme nous avons dit jusque à l'offrande. Mais, indépendamment de la situation de la sacristie, il suffisoit mesme que le prestre & ses ministres, arrivant à l'autel, trouvassent ce costé là à leur droite pour aller tout naturellement s'y placer.

De Vert, IV.—23.

[c] See plan, pl. XIV. fig. 1, where their station is marked by A. B. C. which agrees exactly in position and situation with the yet remaining seats in our chancels, shews the antiquity of the practices to which they owe their rise, and wholly accounts for their original design.

V. Demande.

[d] N'étoit-il pas plus convenable que le prestre se plaçassent tout au fond de l'Eglise & au de là mesme de l'autel, pour avoir ainsi tout le peuple en face; que non pas, qu'il se mist à costé d'où il ne pouvoit ni voir ni estre vu qu'obliquement & de biais?

Response.

"Pergit ad dextram ad sedem suam," says the Roman order speaking of a bishop; "non sedet in sede post altare," says the same order, speaking of a simple priest. Again, "non dicit orationem post altare sed in dextro latere altaris," that is, on the side which is on the right of the priest officiating at the altar.

Having, in the detail already given of the pontifical throne, pointed out at the same time the antiquity of the *confessus*, as being ever annexed to it, and also shewn how occupied in the rite of sitting, practised by the celebrants in the absence of the bishop [e], or when he did not personally officiate; let us now take an example or two from several of the most famous churches in France. In the cathedral of St. John at Lyons, the celebrating priest is daily seated at the end of the stone-bench on the epistle side, who has on one hand a desk for reading the epistle, and, except the *introit* and communion, he reads nothing else at the altar. On double festivals the officiant has on his right half the celebrating priests, and on their right the deacon, being a canon, with half the deacons; the remaining assistant priests and deacons are placed facing them on the other side, the sub-deacons are never seated with them, but stand behind the

Response.

Cela auroit esté plus régulier à la vérité, mais c'est qu'il n'y avoit que le Pape à Rome & l'Evesques en leur propre église qui pussent ainsi occuper le fond, c'est à dire, le throsne pontifical qui y estoit placé; en sorte qu'un Evesque officiant à Rome en l'absence du Pape, & un simple Prestre officiant en Eglise Cathédrale au défaut de l'Evesque, estoit obligé de se mettre dans l'un des sieges qui terminoient l'enceinte du presbytere vers l'autel, & par consequent à côté, ainsi qu'on pratique encore à Lyon & à Vienne en Dauphiné. De Vert, IV. 25.

[e] Every parish-church may be considered in the same point of view, with regard to the performance of the ceremonial of religion, as the cathedral in the bishop's absence, and must have had the same usages, as far as their respective endowments would permit.

altar.

altar [*f*]. This I presume will appear to be no bad explanation of the yet remaining arches in the presbytery in Durham cathedral [*g*]. The like situation of the clergy in celebrating in the cathedral of St. Maurice at Vienne, in the absence of the archbishop, may in like manner be noticed. It may be recollected, that at Rheims the archbishop makes no farther use of his chair in the *abfis*; yet the celebrating priest is in that cathedral seated as at Lyons, and has also a small desk for reading the commencement of the mass to the *secræta*. In low masses, says father De Vert, it was altogether very natural to observe at the altar the same situation as in solemn masses they did in the presbytery, where they sat on the benches of stone, or wood, circularly arranged [*h*].

To mark the precise time when this disposition of the *abfis* became obsolete, is by no means in my power, though it may be supposed, since it has reached our days, in particular places it gradually fell off, giving place rather to new situation than new ceremonial. Certain it is the isolated altar and circular *abfis* could not well be complied with but in very large churches [*i*]; and, if the succeeding rite of the bishop being seated with his clergy on the South side of the altar may not have so high an antiquity to plead in its favour, yet it certainly has far more on the score of convenience.

However the ancient custom seems to have obtained in the erection of churches, particularly when extensive, in most parts of the world, it passed, no doubt, from Rome, among other modes of church-building, into this country, and was

[*f*] Voyages Liturg. 45.

[*g*] Archæologia, vol. X.

[*h*] IV. p. 23.

[*i*] See plan of an ancient church. Plate XIV. fig. 1.

also a second time brought here from Normandy. And thus it is that a semicircular East end is a voucher for genuine antiquity. The first Gothic churches seem to have followed the Norman in this particular, and it even seems to have passed into the parochial and smaller religious edifices. The East end of the chapel of St. Bartholomew in Chatham, which claims the venerable Gundulph for its founder, is thus erected [k]; as also the East end of Eynesford church, of early Gothic; though it is by no means pretended that this was the uniform method of the first churches of this country. Those of Darent and Bicknor, equally ancient, are in the common way, as are possibly numbers, though it seems worthy remark, that the idea of the *abfis*, or vault, is preserved by the groined arch over the spot occupied in Darent church by the altar, as it was in the old parish church at Chatham, erected so late as about 1351; as also by a like more extensive vaulting in cathedral and other large churches, which Mr. Fuller terms *concameratio*.

From this trifling digression in favour of the antiquity of the fabric of many of our English churches, I shall beg leave to turn the enquiry to that mode of being seated directly applicable to the investigation of the uses of the *sedilia*, so frequently found in our chancels and chauntries, and particularly to the almost unique remains at Chalk. We have seen already the origin of being seated, and the reasonable preference given to the right, South, or epistle side; it has also been shewn, that the present rite has not only succeeded, but been derived from, that of the primitive church; and it remains but to

[k] This ancient little remain was erected by Hugh de Testesclive, monk of St. Andrew's, Rochester, before the year 1125, when he became abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

Registrum Roffense, 119.

observe,

observe, that the presbytery in every church was the place where the prelate had his chair, with the seats for the other ministers, whether as in the ancient mode or only on one side, as with the Chartreux and Jacobins, or as the seat of the bishop with those of the priests, and other ministers are placed, who observe the Roman rite [l]. In the thirteenth century it appears from Durand, that according to these rites the bishop or priest is seated after the collect, during the epistle, and thence until the beginning of the Gospel [m]. Though the first Roman order does not seem to direct any thing to be performed near the altar but the Confession and Collects, which yet continues to be the custom of several famous churches, studious of antiquity; and various are the customs in France, both in the churches of the seculars and regulars. We had in like manner the rites of our particular churches

[l] Et c'est de ce costé-là que le célébrant se place encore avec ses ministres & mesme l'Evesque, surtout au Rit Romain. De Vert, IV. 26.

On appelle proprement Presbytere le lieu où est le siege du prélat accompagné des bancs des prêtres, & autres ministres, soit que ce siege soit derriere l'autel comme à Lyon, à Vienne, &c. soit qu'il soit à costé comme chez les Chartreux, les Jacobins, et, en un mot, comme est le fauteuil des Evêques & autres presbteres, ou ministres, qui suivent le Rit Romain. De Vert, IV. 18.

From the foregoing considerations, and this definition of the Presbytery, it appears as if every one not concerned in the immediate service of the altar was excluded from this part of the church; and, should this be the case, it would have been impossible for the personages to whose use the sedilia at Rochester and Maidstone were allotted to have been there placed, unless concerned in actual celebration.

See Archæologia, X. 261, et seq.

[m] Oratione finita sacerdos seu episcopus sedet, et notandum quod in missæ officio tribus horis sedet, videlicet dum epistola, et dum responsorium, & alleluia, cantantur. Durand, Ration. IV. 4. cxvii. n. i.

Hactenus, dum epistola lecta fuerit, et choro graduale psallente, sacerdos tacitus ad dextram partem sedebit altaris.

Post dictam ergo sequentiam surgens sacerdos, ad sinistram altaris partem accedens, pronunciat evangelium. Idem, L. IV. c. xxiii.

at

at home, and a similar diversity might have taken place among us. Examples of seats occur frequently in the relations of religious buildings. The canons of Laon and Verdun, as also the monks of Marhienne, use a reading-desk attached to the seat or bench of the celebrating priest, for his conveniency in reading those parts of the mass of the Catechumens not performed at the altar [n]. The celebrant's seat at Cambrai was accommodated in the same manner. At the Chartreux at Dijon facing the altar, on the Epistle side, is a large ancient chair, magnificently carved, for seating the priest during the Epistle [o]; and at small altars, where low mass is usually said, there is neither desk nor seat [p]. It is also to be understood, that when the deacon and subdeacon were not engaged in reading the Epistle, Gospel, &c. at the *ambon*, or in other duties, they were during this seated with the celebrating priest; though in some places they appear to have used the stalls in the choir for this purpose, particularly on the less solemn days, when the priest used one of the above described chairs [q]. The rubrics of the missals

[n] De Vert, IV. 20.

[o] Voyag. Liturg. p. 56.

[p] De Vert, IV. 18.

[q] *Sessio ministrorum significat sessionem ipsorum quibus dicitur, "Sedebitis vos super sedes judicantes xii tribus Israel."* Quidam ergo ministrorum cum Episcopo sedent.

Durandi Rational. Lib. IV. cxviii. n. 2.

It is extremely common with the old writers to mention the bishops on the occasion of every duty; but this, as Mr. Johnston in his Ecclesiastical Law remarks, is little more than a form of speaking.

Le prêtre alloit ensuite au côté droit de l'autel, suivi du diacre, qui se tenoit debout jusqu'à ce que le célébrant lui fit signe de s'asseoir. Voyages Liturg. 283.

Incipiente subdiacono epistolam, sacerdos juxta altare sedeat, et diacono in loco suo sedere innuat. Missale Rotomagense. Ibid.

fals restored by the council of Trent, and first published by Pius V. in 1570, seem to have directed the priest and his ministers only to be seated during the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Credo*, though the people are allowed this indulgence during the Epistle. It is, however, noticed by Le Brun, in opposition to De Vert, that in the first edition of these Missals, in 1570, the celebrating clergy are allowed also to be seated as anciently during the Epistle. The following extract from an approved author, being explicit on the modern practice in this rite, which differed but little from the ancient, is here given as tending to a further illustration of this subject: "Si sedendum erit, parato scamno oblongo in plano capellæ postquam celebrans dixerit secreta, hymnum angelicum, &c. descendunt unus post alium per breviorẽ viam a latere epistolæ ad sedem paratam, in qua sedent co-operto capite, &c. Quæ omnia & in symbolo sunt observanda. Sedet celebrans medius inter diaconum a dextris et subdiaconum; a sinistris, stant acolythi regulariter apud credentiam [r]."

The church of St. Spire at Corbeil has three seats for the officiating priests on the Epistle side of the altar [s]. These are of wood, like three pews, the middle one higher than the rest, and are supposed of the age of Francis I.

One example more may serve to bring this amply home to the uses of the seats in so many of our churches.

In the cathedral at Sens, opposite the high altar on the Epistle side is a beautiful bench, large and long, composed of

Pendant le *Gloria in excelsis* et le *Credo* le célébrant & le diacre sont assis,—
aussi bien que le sousdiacre quand il y est. Voyage Liturg. 362.

[r] Gavanti commentaria in rubricas Missalis et Breviarii Rom. Par. I. Tit. ii. N° 7. Parisiis, 1636.

[s] Antiquités Nationales, by Aubin Louis Millin, vol. II. N° XXI. p. 17.

five

five seats, each lower than the succeeding, of which the first, which is highest, is for the celebrant, and the other for two deacons, and as many subdeacons; directly below is the chair of the archbishop, which is of well-executed joinery, and equally beautiful [1]. This appears to signify, that there being no marks of the sedile at Canterbury is not owing to the metropolitan chair being placed behind the altar; there possibly was never any fixed, or, if there were, Blue Dick, one of the Calvinistic holders-forth of sedition and sacrilege, fixed by authority in that place, or the other friends of old Oliver, may possibly give some account of them.

But to return again to Sens; this beautiful *confessus* is not always occupied, but on the more solemn festivals; at other times, when the celebrant is seated in the first place nearest the altar, the deacon takes the second, and the sub-deacon the third. Also in the famous monastery of Cluny, on the grand feasts, there are, as at Sens, two deacons and two sub-deacons, and here the deacon and sub-deacon of office read the Epistle and Gospel. As nothing can more fully shew the purposes of our usually-found three seats, while it explains the quintuple sedile, very rarely found; little need farther be said than just to aim at accounting for the variety in the number of the compartments in the different *confessus*, as also in their application; and, that this may be done with little expence of quotation and deduction, I shall select a few of the articles or queries published in France, somewhat prior to the year 1727, by the reverend and learned

[1] Dans l'Eglise cathédrale de St. Etienne, vis-à-vis du grand autel, du côté de l'Epître, il y a un fort beau banc, grand & long, composé de cinq sièges, toujours en baissant, dont le premier, qui est le plus haut, est pour le célébrant, et les autres pour les diacres & sous-diacres. Immédiatement au dessous est la chaire de l'Archevêque, qui est assez belle, & de menuiserie bien travaillée.

Voyages Liturgiques de France, p. 161.

father Peter Le Brun, then composing his celebrated "Literal, Historic, and Dogmatic Explication of the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass," which, amounting to one hundred and eleven, are printed at the end of his first volume [u].

10. Where is the bishop placed when he officiates at mass, and when at other offices, and when he does not officiate at all? Is it under a canopy, or without, on a *faldistorium*?

11. If the priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, are seated on fixed seats, or on a bench, or chair of state, or chairs without backs, on stools, or in the stalls in the choir?

12. Whether the priest is seated above the deacon and sub-deacon, or between them [x]?

13. If there are any honorary deacons or sub-deacons, how many, and at what festivals, if they are called *induts*, precedents, or otherwise, and what are their duties?

[u] Avis sur un ouvrage, &c.

10. Où se met l'Evêque quand il officie à la messe, quand il officie aux autres offices, & quand il n'officie pas? S'il est sous dais, ou seulement sur un fauteuil sans dais?

11. Si le prêtre, le diacre, le sous-diacre, s'asseient sur des sieges fixes, ou sur un banc, sur des fauteuils, chaises à dos, des tabourets, ou sur les stalles au chœur?

12. Se le prêtre s'assied au dessus du diacre & du sous-diacre, ou au milieu d'eux?

13. S'il y a des diacres & sous-diacres d'honneur? combien? à quelles fêtes? si on les appelle *induts* précédens, ou autrement, & quelles sont leurs fonctions?

[x] Notwithstanding the Roman missals after the council of Trent direct the celebrant to be seated between the deacon and sub-deacon, and that, in the prefatory items from the register of the congregation of rites, a deviation from its rubrics is declared an abuse, it may be seen from the twelfth query, and the custom at Sens, Cambrai, &c. that the order of sitting was not only different, but that the ancient mode is yet in many places adhered to; and it may also begin to appear, that the original and subsequent uses of the *sedilia* were ever the same.

To the use of the officers [y] mentioned in the last quoted article is generally owing, that in many places the *confessus* has more than three compartments; but, as the Reverend Mr. Robertson has already in the letter he once favoured me with on this subject, since printed in the 10th volume of the *Archæologia*, whose authority is of more than sufficient weight on this subject, accounted amply for this variation, nothing need farther be adduced.

Hitherto have I held your attention fixed in the cathedral, abbey, and collegiate church, among prelates and dignitaries, where the extended endowment was every way capable of providing whatever might be esteemed requisite for the “serene and holy pomp of the sacred ministry [z].”

[y] It may not be deemed improper in this place to offer a hint or two concerning the uses of the officers alluded to as a farther explanation.

De officio assistentis Presbyteri. Tit. i.

Cum in ecclesiis cathedralibus plerumque assistentes ejusmodi adhibeantur & de iisdem in rubricis generalibus nulla fiat mentio, ceremoniale episcoporum pauci ad manus habeant, placet eorum officium breviter hic apponere.

Primo itaque officium illius est missam providere, signacula disponere & in aliis sub missa faciendis celebrantem dirigere,—sed cum celebrans hymnum angelicum dicit expectat ad librum donec ad sedendum accedit tunc enim et ipse supra scabellum nudum capite cooperto sedere poterit.

De officio ceremonii. Tit. vi.

Ante omnia indutus superpellicio quærit & signat in missale & libro evangeliorum quæ sunt cantanda vel legenda, deinde videt an omnia sint parata, presertim pro celebrante, &c.

Si ad *Kyrie eleison* vel *Gloria* sedendum sit, ipse subdiaconum in sedendo juvat, Dalmaticum attollendo; tum diligenter attendit ad verba *Adoramus, Gratias, Jesu Christe, suscipe*, & ex suo loco surgens, &c.

Instructio practica de SS. Miss. sacrif. a Tobia Lohner, Soc. Jes. Sacer. Pars iii.

The ceremonial mentioned by this author was originally the *Ordo Romanus*, many of which were published in different ages, and at length, being encreased, is printed under the above title.

Le Brun, vol. i.

[z] Paulinus ut supra.

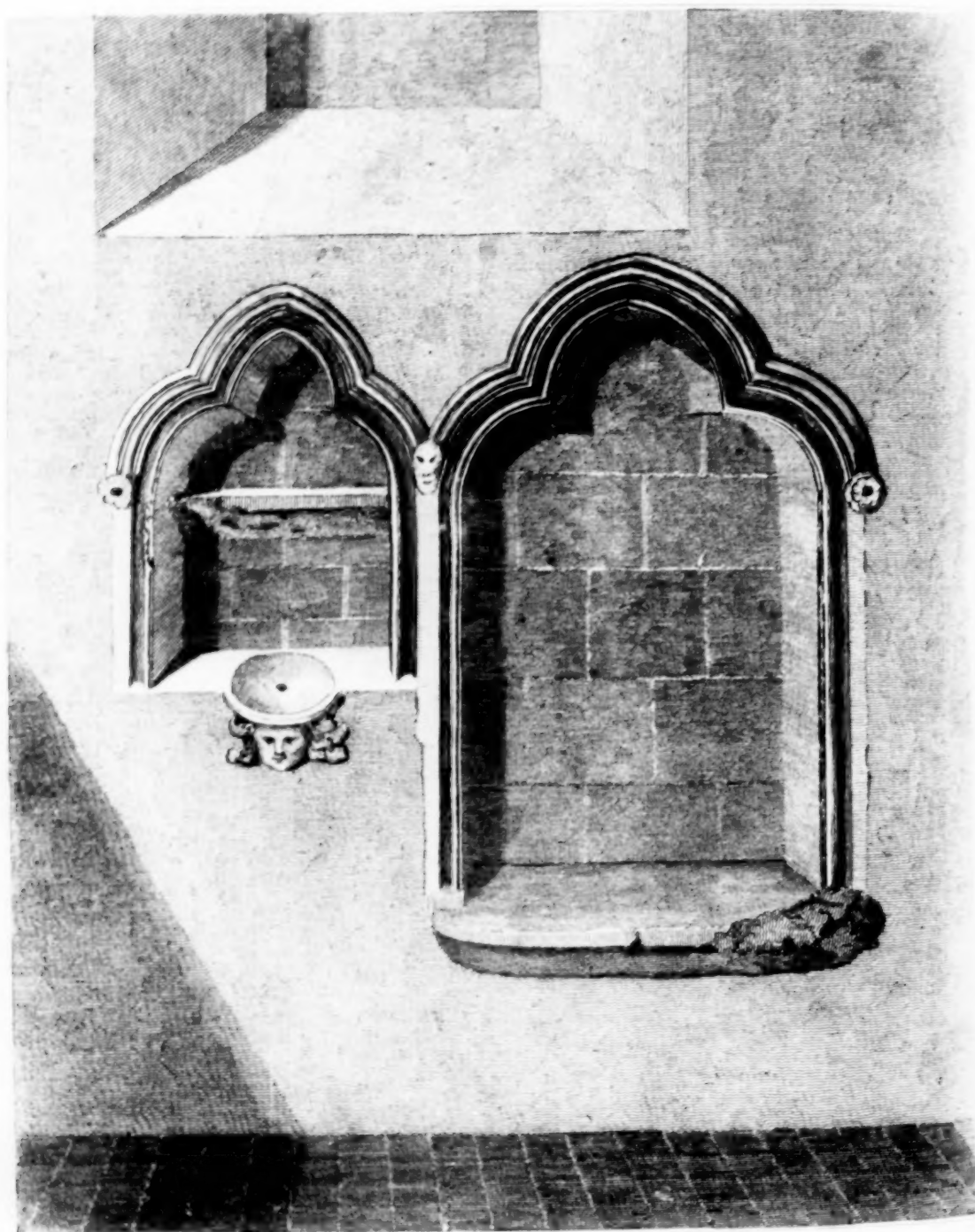
Let

Let us now decline a little into the country, and endeavour to trace out how far the ceremonies of the church relative to our subject were complied with among the poor. Nor is it to be expected in every place, that the benefice, scarcely sufficient to support decently the maintenance of a single incumbent, should afford sustenance for the number generally necessary upon solemn celebrations; nor are we to search for those marks by which it is evident so many were formerly engaged, which must have been ever regulated by the profits of the cure. Thus it appears, that the Prophecies, Epistles, and Collects, usually apart in separate books, were first joined together into one volume or missal, for the accommodation of the priest, unassisted at the altar, particularly in country churches, where they rather fell short in sufficient ministers for reading the lectures than in the choir for chanting the *Introit, Gradual, &c.* This is what we observe generally happening in the villages, and even in poor parishes in the cities, where at the *ambon* sufficient are generally found, but by no means deacon or sub-deacon at the altar. It is true, in the end, the curate remitted the reading the Epistle to the master of the school, or to the clerk, or even to a youth capable of reading, though he could not in like manner discharge himself from the reading the Gospel, though formerly this was done by a simple reader, as that of the Epistles and Prophets[a]. That is, in the words of Mr. Robertson, the

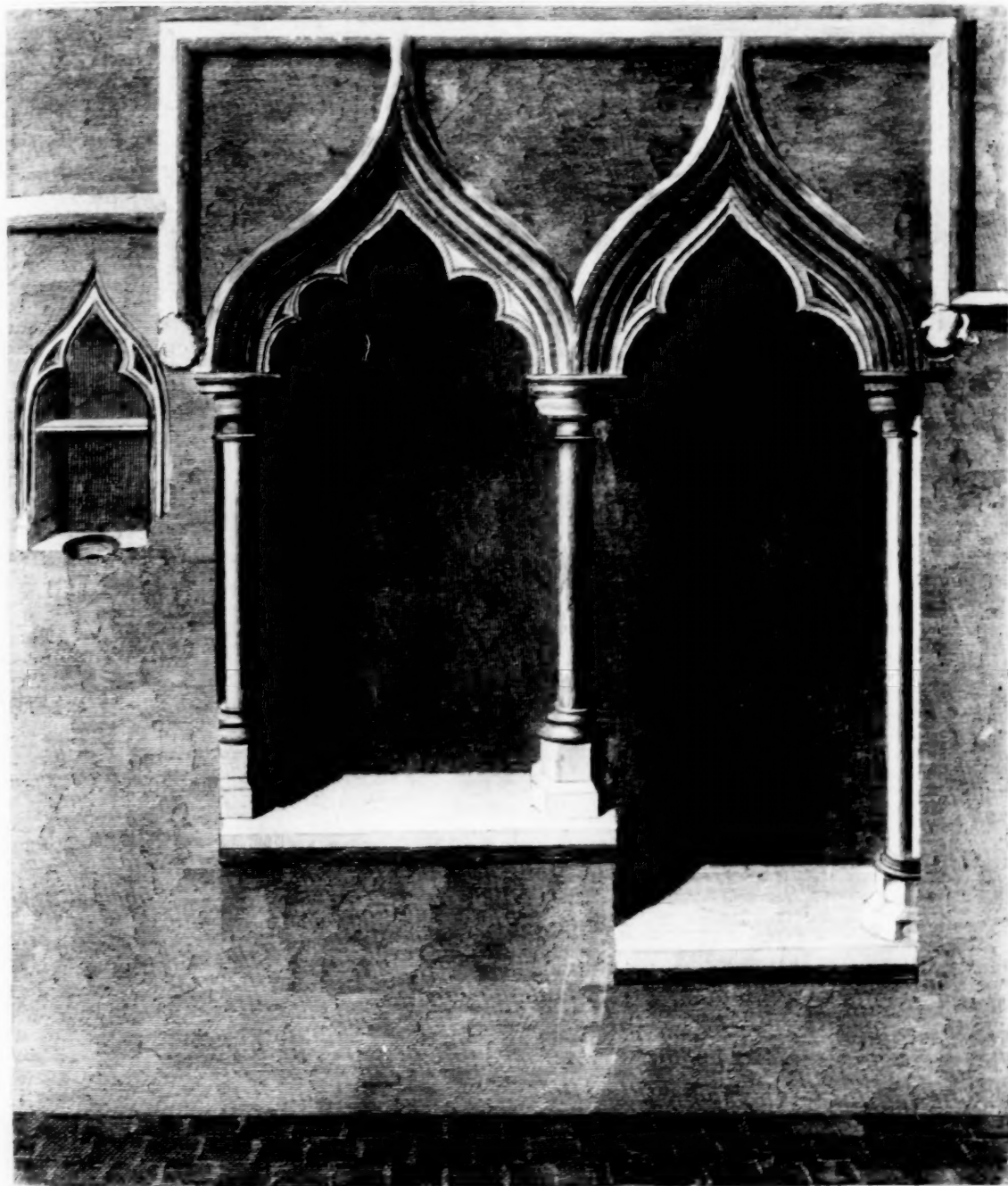
[a] Parceque, sur tout dans les Eglises de Campagne, on manquoit bien plutôt de ministres pour faire les lectures que non pas de chantres pour chanter l'Introit, le graduel, & le reste. C'est ce que nous voyons tous les jours arriver dans les villages, & mesme dans les pauvres paroisses des villes, où il se trouve toujours assez de monde au lutrin, mais point de diacre ni de sousdiacre à l'autel. Il est vray, dans la suite, le curé s'est remis de la lecture de l'épître au magister ou clerc, ou enfin à un simple enfant qui sçeut lire, &c.

De Vert IV. 62.

choir



*Temple: but is facade on the south channel wall
of the hall: church: Kent.*



Seats in Norwood's chantry in Hilton church, Kent

choir performed the part of subdeacon, and the priest that of celebrant and deacon, which exactly accounts for the necessity for but a single seat; as also is a mark of the poverty of the benefice, and applies most obviously to our venerable little remain at Chalk [b].

After reading the last quotation from De Vert, let us not longer doubt, but in the explanation of the double *confessus*, an example of which is given from Norwood's chauntry in Milton church, near Sittingbourne in this county, Pl. XVI. Mr. Robertson is equally successful, as he now confidently appears to have been in his account of every other, from authorities from which there reasonably lies no appeal [c]. In conferring orders the bishop makes a more frequent

[b] A view of this seat, and piscina, is given in Pl. XV.

[c] That in churches better endowed, besides the celebrant, one performed the part of deacon and sub-deacon; in such churches were two seats.

See Letter, ut supra, Archæologia, vol. X.

By the 17th of Archbishop Langton's constitutions, made in 1222, it was decreed, that in every church which has a large parish there be two or three priests, according to the largeness of the parish and state of the church.

Johnson's Ecclesiastical Law.

This goes a great way in accounting for the varieties in the *sedilia*. In the ordination of vicarages proper allowances were made for the support of this burthen. "Subeant autem præfati vicarii (de Faversham) onus deservendi per se et duos presbyteros idoneos præfatæ ecclesiæ in divinis." X Script. col. 2093.

The priores and convent of Davington were obliged, by the appropriation of that church to their use, to find three priests and four clerks for the performance of divine offices.

Hasted's History of Kent, vol. II. p. 729.

The church of Tunstall in Kent was endowed for a rector and vicar.

Rowe Mores's History, p. 45.

Subeant autem præfati vicarii (de Middleton, viz. Milton near Sittingbourne), onus deservendi per se et alium presbyterum idoneum eidem ecclesiæ in divinis.

X Script. col. 2094.

Also

quent use of a seat, or a *faldistorium*, than in any other of his episcopal duties. If then the *sedilia* were requisite for the bishop in every parish church, and even at every altar, according to the opinion which has your concurrence, why do we not find the like accommodation in the ruined chapel in Halling palace, where, by the bishop's register, it appears many were admitted to the sacred functions [d]? A piscina is there

Also in the endowment of chauntries the number of chaplains varied, and passing those for one priest, which were common, it may be worthy of remark, that, in the church of the Crutched Friars in Colchester, was in the time of Henry II. a chauntry of five priests, founded by the fraternity of St. Helen's gild.

Morant's Colchester, p. 156.

The chauntry founded in the church of St. Catharine near the Tower, by John Holland Duke of Exeter, was for four.

Royal Wills, p. 287.

There was in the chapel of All Souls at the Bridge foot, in Rochester, a chauntry, founded by Sir John Cobham in 1397, for three chaplains, who were to perform canonical hours, and say masses for the soul of the founder, those of his family, and of all the faithful departed.

Registrum Roffense, p. 555.

Also in the church of Stoke in the hundred of Hoo, was a chauntry founded for two priests for the above purposes.

Registrum Roffense, p. 623.

[d] The vicinity of churches to episcopal mansions, with the remote and uncertain allusions to heraldic bearings, and regal and episcopal portraitures, has often, among our most celebrated antiquaries, afforded a solution of the uses of the *sedilia*.

But in Halling church there never was a sedile.

In Gillingham church, where bishop Walter de Merton received consecration, but three poor seats.

In the fine church at Croydon none, unless removed for the monument of an archbishop after the Reformation; but this is unlikely, as being too near the East end of the great chancel.

In Lambeth none; their place is occupied by the monument of John Mompeyson, Esq. who died in 1524.

In the preparation of the chapel of Lambeth palace, for the consecration of archbishop Parker, it is noticed, that four chairs were set to the *Soub* of the

EgA

there to be seen in its usual place. It is also to be remarked, there were titular bishops in this country. These were gentlemen possessing episcopal faculties, frequently deputed to supply the place of the bishop of the diocese in such affairs as the consecrations and reconciliations of churches, confirmations, &c. And as the use of these episcopal vicars must have rendered the presence of the diocesan in great measure problematical, so the respect so justly his due could have but weakly operated as an inducement for erecting perennial seats for his accommodation [e].

I will now, Sir, conclude this aim at an historical investigation of the episcopal and sacerdotal *sedilia* by one or two observations, tending towards an illustration of their names. When it is considered that our seats are originally derived from the ancient *confeſſus clericorum*, both with regard to situation and use, may they not properly be distinguished by that term from the *subsellia* or stalls in the choir, since the term *confeſſus* is applied to the benches on which the clergy were placed, in the same mode as *ecclesia*, signifying an assembly of people, is to the material edifice of the church known by that name [f]. It may be also urged, as another proof of their ancient descent,

East part of the chapel for the bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the archbishop was committed. Strype's Life, p. 57.

Had there been a sedile in this place, chairs would have been unnecessary; and there certainly would, had it been a customary accompaniment in the discharge of episcopal duties so frequently there performed.

[e] To the suffragan for hallowing the church-yarde, and other implements of the church, £. s. d.
0 30 0

Churchwardens Accounts of St. Helens Abington, Berks.

Archæologia, vol. I. p. 13.

Paid for hallowing St. Mary Kirk Garth to the Suffragan — 0 30 0

Account of Louth steeple, Archæologia, vol. X. p. 91.

[f] Continens pro re contenta.

VOL. XI.

Y y

and

and consequently of their claim to the same title that our seats, with their canopies and vaultings, are in the same style of finish and decoration as were the tribunals or *abfides* about the *conceffus*. Examples of the beautiful mosaic paintings which occur on these parts in the Italian churches till about the ninth century, are to be seen in Ciampini, and may be compared to the mosaics, but particularly to the depicted representations of bishops and kings on our *sedilia*; and both were inscribed with written sentences. The mention made by Durand of the *exedra* of the church pretty well agrees with these appendages, which were certainly in use before 1268, when he wrote his *Rationale*. He tells us, "The *exedra* [*g*] is the *abfis*, or a certain vaulting, moderately separated from the church or palace, thus called because taken out of the wall." This, upon the whole, is no bad definition of the seats, which, if not hinted at in this place, they remain unnoticed by him, which would be rather strange, since his vast accuracy and love for mystic explication has extended itself to the pavement, pillars, and weathercock; even the very stones are spiritualized. *Exedra* is also taken to signify various parts of the church, and may sometimes intend among the Greeks the same part as *conceffus*.

[*g*] *Exedra* est abfida, five volta quedam separata modicum a templo vel palatio, sic dicta xiii. c. ii. præcipiend' quia extraheretur muro; Græcè autem *exledra* vocatur. L. l. c. i. n. 19.

To much the same purpose is the *Exedra* explained by Walafrid Strabo, in the 6th chapter of his work "De Rebus Ecclesiasticis."

Robert Wyntingham, provost of the chantry founded by John Giffard at Cotherstock in Northamptonshire, by his will dated August 8, 1415, directed his body to be buried near the *lavatory* on the South side the chancel of St. Andrews of Cotherstock. Bridges' History, vol. II. p. 440. S. D.

Thomas Stanley, first earl of Derby, by his will dated 1504, directed that at his tomb in Burseough priory one of the canons at every mats before the lavatory should say *De profundis* for his soul. Dugdale Bar. II. 247. R. G.

among

among the Latins. And, lastly, the seats of the celebrants in latter times, of whatever kind they were, seem to have been known by no particular term. Thus they are simply named *sedes, sella, sedilia parata*, by Tobias Lockner, in his "Practical Instructions on the Missal and Breviary." As also in a Sarum Missal of 1515, and in one for the use of the Roman court of 1528.

Usually annexed to the *confessus*, and for the most part in the same style of adornment, and sometimes appearing as an additional compartment, is a small nich or *fenestella*, containing the piscina or *lavacrum*, for the use of the formerly adjoining altar. It is also of various design, frequently found alone in the South walls of the chancels and ailes of churches, and again in the East of those parts on the right; and there is an instance or two of the piscina being placed on the left [b]. This appendage is remarkable on two accounts; the first of these to be noticed is the perforated hollow, always formed at the bottom of the niche, which, for the sake of ornament, is of various shapes, as round, scalloped, and square, probably the most ancient, and, upon

[b] In the North wall of the church of Horton Kirby, Kent; and in Rochester cathedral, where the conduit for draining off the water in the piscina is of very singular form; a deep declining hollow about six inches broad, two deep towards the front, and three or four on its inner side, runs quite across the opening of the niche, which is about two feet. From the middle of this runs a second channel, declining from a level, and at right angles to the first, having its exit in the wall, and forming on each side a large square space, on which were probably placed the basins daily at the altar, shortly to be noticed, and the whole was lined with lead. The custom of thus covering with lead the bottom of the piscina appears not altogether to have been uncommon; for, among the devastations committed, anno 1562, by the Calvinistical faction in the venerable cathedral at Rouen in Normandy, it is noticed, that they preserved their lead and pewter for making balls for their musquets, which they had pillaged from the *piscina, organs*, and coverings of the church.

Histoire de l'Eglise cath. de Rouen, p. 108. a Rouen, 1686.

the whole, has much the appearance of a sink, to which end it certainly was applied. They are often also to be seen with a double hollow, particularly near the spot where the high altar was fixed, and have scarcely ever failed of being considered as the stoup or basin for holy water. The second particular in the *fenestella* worthy remark, is a projection or shelf running across about two-thirds its height, having together much the appearance of a buffet; of this an explanation shall be attempted under the name of *credentia*.

In searching for the antiquity of the piscina, were I to be guided by that of the usages, which had an immediate reference towards it, I should once again be obliged to have recourse to primitive times; but satisfying myself with a more moderate claim, it will be sufficient to give the earliest account I am enabled, which may possibly reach higher than the time when most of those in our own churches were formed. The first written authority of which I shall avail myself is that of Durand, who was living in 1268 [i]; he tells us, that near the altar by which Christ is signified is placed the piscina or *lavacrum* in which the hands are washed [k]. The priest's being ever directed to perform this duty *à cornu epistolæ* points out the situation of the piscina on the South side of the altar, and of course on the right of the celebrant, for the same reasons as have been already adduced for the preference given that part for there placing the *sedilia*.

[i] According to Dupin (*Eccles. History*, cent. xiii. v. xi. p. 75.), he was by Gregory X. sent legate to the council of Lyons in 1274, and at last made bishop of Mende in 1286. He afterwards refused the archbishopric of Ravenna, offered him by Boniface VIII. but he accepted the legation to the sultan of Egypt; and, having gone thither, he died at Nicosia in the island of Cyprus, on the 6th of July, in the year 1296. S. D.

[k] Prope altare etiam quod Christum significat collocatur piscina seu lavacrum—in quo manus lavantur.

Ration. Divin. L. I. C. i. n. 59.

The

The word itself is derived from *piscis*, and signifying a stew for preserving live fish [l], as also a bath, was afterwards extended to the lavatory or basin destined for the washing the hands of the priest or other ministers of the altar, either before the consecration or after the communion, and in like manner for receiving the water which had served for the purification of the chalice. On this account, there were in every piscina, as may be seen at an infinity of altars, two conduits or channels for draining off the water, the one for receiving that in which the hands have been washed, the other also for the water in which the chalice had been rinsed [m]; “*ablutio digitorum sacerdotis recipiatur in pelve alia quam sacra ablutio*,” says the ancient order of the Jacobins. These basins seem first to have had the name of piscina bestowed on them, and afterwards to have communicated it to the niche in which they were placed. And here a ready explanation offers itself of the uses of those pairs of basins which are so frequently found in the inventories of church plate, and are of so high an antiquity, and were often given as presents, and left as legacies to particular altars and chauntries [n]. The rubric, in making the *lavabo*, directs the priest to go to the epistle horn

[l] *Piscina locu⁹ d^r pro nutrit⁹dis piscib⁹ & conserv⁹adis piscib⁹ deputatus ut qⁿ placuerit d^{no} de ipsis capiat.* Vocabularium utriusque juris. Lugduni, 1530.

[m] Il y avoit pour cet effet en chaque piscine, comme on peut voir encore à une infinité d'autels, deux conduits, ou canaux, pour faire écouler l'eau, l'un pour recevoir l'eau qui avoit servi au lavement des mains, l'autre pour celle qui avoit servi au purification ou perfusion du chalice. De Vert, III. 193.

M. De Vert, in saying the double channel is to be found in every piscina, is rather beside the mark; those with a single hollow are by far the more numerous, not only at home, but probably in France, of which this author was a native.

[n] In 870 the monks of Croyland threw into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Danes, *decem Calices cum lavatoriis pelvibus*. Ingulphus.

Helias,

horn of the altar, where the clerk pours the water with which he washes his hands, that is the thumb and fore finger of each. Anciently, says De Vert, he went for this purpose to the piscina hollowed out in the thickness of the wall, from which he is at present dispensed by the water, basin, and towel, being served as described in the rubric. It has been already seen, that the priest was seated in the presbytery from the commencement of the mass to the *secræta*, and here while placed, before the invention of the piscina, he washed, as do the bishops at this present time, by whom the ancient rite here specified is, by way of distinction, preserved, and which is also adhered to among the Chartreux [o]. In the second ablution or purification of the chalice, the other perforation is said to have come into use. The rubric in this case directs the priest to drink the wine and water with which

Helias, prior of St. Andrew's, Rochester, a great benefactor, among his other services to his monastery, gave "Bafinos de Limoges * qui sunt cotidie ad majus altare." Reg. Roffense, 123.

He held this office in the reign of king John, to whom, in the name of his convent, he presented a silver cup worth six marks.

Two pairs of basins were left by cardinal Beaufort to the altar of his chauntry founded in Winchester cathedral. Royal Wills.

In the Indenture made 1479, between the sub-master and sacrist of Cobham college, Kent, are mentioned, ii pelves de cupro deaurat', iiii pelves veteres.

Reg. Roffense.

This seems to signify there were two to the three altars formerly in that church, though but a single piscina marks the place where two of them were erected.

In the inventory of the furniture of the chapel of Maynard's Spittle, Canterbury, is this, "Item two masers bound with silver." Somner, 143.

The vicar of Malling was, by the ordination of that vicarage, obliged to find *basins*, among other articles. Reg. Roff. 484.

[o] De Vert, III. 195.

* Limoges was famous for its enamellers: hence "Bafinos de Limoges" may signify basins enamelled at or by an artist of Limoges.

he was served for rinsing his finger and cleansing his chalice [*p*]. In this more caution and circumspection is observed than heretofore, when it was customary to throw the water which had served the ablution into the piscina, "*perfusionis aqua debet in locum mundum & honestum defundi*," says Durand, "*ut altitudo sacramenti honoretur*." Thus, when he wrote, it seems not to have been generally the custom to receive the ablution into the stomach. The Ordinary of the Jacobins, of 1224, is said to have given the first hint of this precaution [*q*], as for the most part it was sufficient to perform this rite in a basin, or even in the piscina itself.

[*p*] Deinde vino & aqua abluit polices & indices super calicem quos abstergit purificatorio,—ablutionem sumit. Ritus celebrandi Missam.

Missale Rom. ex decreto SS Con. Trid. Restitutum, 1660.

[*q*] Canons of archbishop Hubert Walter, A. D. MCC.

2. "A priest may not celebrate twice a day, unless the necessity be urgent; when he does, let nothing be poured into the chalice after the receiving the blood at the first celebration; but let the least drop be diligently sucked out of the chalice, and the fingers sucked, or licked with the tongue, and washed, and the washings * kept in a clean vessel to be had for this purpose; which washings are to be drunk after the second celebration; except a deacon, or some other † considerable minister, be present to drink the washing at the first celebration."

Constitutions of archbishop Edmund, A. D. MCCXXXIV.

21. "And let him (the priest) have a silver or tin vessel always to carry with him to the sick, appropriated for this special purpose, that is, for giving the washings of his fingers to be drunk ‡ (by the sick man) after the taking of the Eucharist."

* The priest was not now to drink the washings as in other masses; because this would have broken his fast, and unqualified him to say mass a second time.

† It was presumed that some particles of the sacramental blood remained in the washings, and that therefore none was fit to drink them without a particular preparation, but some deacon or priest; yet the Constitutions of Richard bishop of Sarum allow any innocent person to drink them. Sir R. S. p. 148.

Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws.

‡ *Apro* is not expressed in this decree of archbishop Edmund, but it is in that of archbishop Peckham, from which it is transcribed, and is necessarily implied here." Ibid.

S. D.

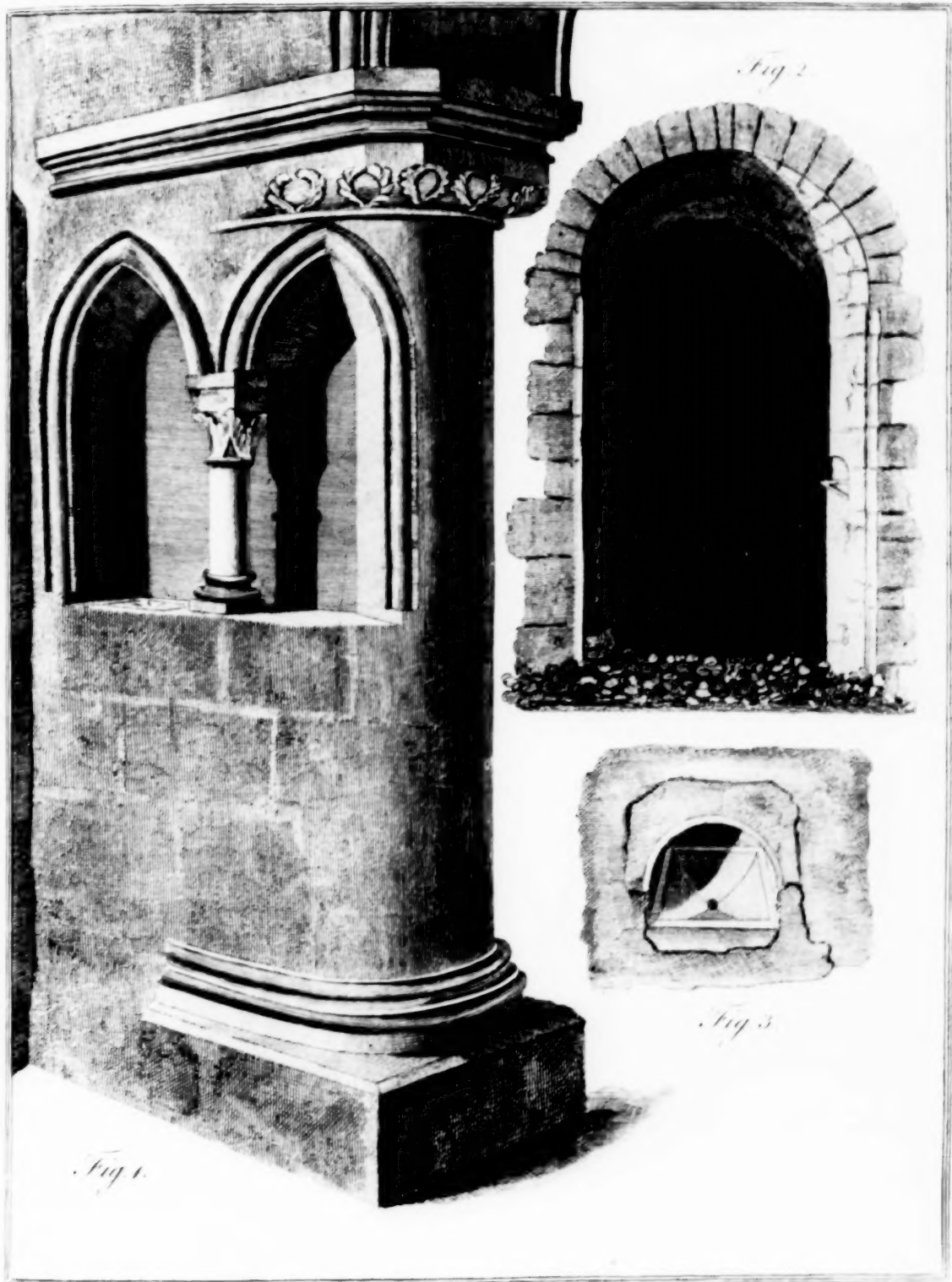
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The custom of making the ablution with wine appears to have been fully established at the end of the thirteenth century, following the xiiii Roman Ordo, both these liquors were in use, the wine in the chalice, and the water in the basin; afterwards the water was in a smaller quantity poured over the extremities of the fingers which had touched the sacrament [r], and received according to the last quoted rubric. These varieties, in the mode of purifying the chalice, would lead to a supposition, that the double piscina should be the most numerous, and have the greater claim to antiquity, as the most early custom prior to 1254 seems to have been that of rinsing this sacred vessel in a basin, and pouring off the water used for that purpose, as described by De Vert. But, when it is considered the piscina with but a single hollow is not only the most frequent, but the most ancient, as must be evident to every one whom curiosity may lead to an examination among the numbers to be met in our old religious edifices; an insuperable difficulty must arise on the credit of the above authorities, which can only be removed by concluding, that one perforation served for the double purpose of conveying into the earth the water which had served for the performance of both the above rites. It has been already seen, that a pair of basins were part of the altar furniture at Rochester and Cobham, in which places remains but a single piscina; but that this was the custom will be rendered still more evident by what immediately follows.

In the bell-tower of the church at Bapchild, Kent, is on the Eastern side a rude Norman arch in the wall [s]; in the

[r] De Vert, III. 378, 384, &c.

[s] See Pl. XVII. in which fig. 2. represents the Norman arch, which has been repaired with brick work; and fig. 3. is a front view of the piscina.



St. Raphael Church, Thessalonica

right impost of this is a small circular *fenestella* with a curious piscina, probably of the same age, and having had an existence before the last-named date, as most erections in this style are supposed to have had, it must serve as a proof of a more early use of the single channel. This being singular in its form, and the most antient I had ever met with among the number which have come under my observation, I thought it would not be disagreeable if a sketch as well of the *fenestella* as the Norman arch in which it is fixed, were offered to your inspection. As it is possible to have formed a small circular niche in a single stone at any time since the introduction of the pointed arch, I should not have been so ready to have brought this forward as a proof of any point of discipline not mentioned by so learned a ritualist as M. De Vert; but that the whole of the pillars and arches of the body of this small yet venerable building are undoubtedly of this early style of architecture, as well as part of the walls and windows, and serve as collateral proofs of the antiquity of the adduced particulars. As the specifying some farther uses of this appendage may be proper in this place, I must take notice, that should a fly or spider, &c. fall into the chalice before consecration, it is directed to be thrown, together with the wine, into this receptacle; but should this happen afterwards, it is directed to be burnt *super piscinam* [r]. When confirmation is performed, the bishop deterges the chrism from his hands with the crumb of bread; this is to be thrown in *piscinam*, viz. *sacrarii* [s]. The other particular in

[r] Missale Rom. 1528.

[s] Pontifical Roman. *Sacrarium*, signifying a deposit for any thing sacred, be it either an apartment used as a vestry, a closet, &c. intended for this purpose; is also in the rubrics assigned to this drain, or channel, as being used for receiving

in the *fenestella*, mentioned as worthier observation, is a shelf-like projection or credence, formerly used as a repository for the sacred vessels during the mass, and owes its origin to a similar appendage about the altar from time immemorial: for it was very early the custom to have a table or small altar on each side the large one. On one of these were prepared the things necessary for the sacrifice, on the other they placed the habit of the bishop [1]. These tables continuing since in use were known by the term *credentia*, the earliest mention of which under this name which has hitherto occurred is in the Roman pontifical, from whence Sir Henry Spelman copied his notice into his Glossary. It is mentioned in the Roman ceremonial, as cited by Du Fresne, lib. I. fec. 3. "*Credentiam* appellant mensam supra quam vasa argentea sive aurea ad convivium opportuna præparentur, et similiter in divinis, supra quam ad sacrificandum necessaria continentur." To the same end, though more to the present purpose, has Richelet defined the credence to be a buffet among the great, in which, while they are at table, their rich vessels are marshaled in parade, as also the small buffet on the right hand of the altar, and rather higher, on which the *ampullæ* are placed [2]. From this origin of the credence, as a buffet,

water, &c. which had been applied to some act in religion, as also for the same reason to the aperture in the bottom of ancient fonts, and accounts for such expressions as "*Sacrarium piscinæ*," "*Sacrarium baptisterii*," "*projicere in sacrarium*," &c. so frequent in rubrics, and their commentators.

[1] Il y avoit, outre cela, deux tables, ou petits autels, aux deux cotés du grand; sur l'un on préparoit les choses nécessaires au sacrifice, & sur l'autre on mettoit les habits de l'Eveque.

L'ancien sacramentaire de l'Eglise, per M. J. Grancolas. Paris, 1699.

[2] Crédence, petit bufet à main droite, au bout de l'autel, et un peu au dessus, où l'on met les burettes. *Mensa ad utrumque latus aræ adstructa.* Se dit aussi du

buffet, or side-board of plate, the nich or *fenestella*, in which were placed the sacred vessels usually of the same material, and termed the service, had evidently the like appellation bestowed upon it [w]. This accompaniment of the altar seems then to have been of two kinds, either a small movable or fixed table near one or both its ends, or the small nich, *fenestella*, or buffet, on the right [x], in which the projection served the same purpose. That on which the things necessary for the sacred rites were placed was on the Epistle or South side, on account originally of its nearness to the sacristy, and its being on the right of the priest. And here in order were disposed, on a clean linen cloth, the chalice, covered with the patin, veil, and *burfa*, on each side of which were placed the *ampullæ*, the napkin, basins, and sub-deacon's veil, though this last is always put on the left if there is a conveniency there for that purpose. It must, however, be obvious, that generally in those *fenestellæ* [y] which served

du buffet qu'on dresse chez les grands, où l'on met toutes leurs vaisselles d'argent en parade quand ils sont à table. Nouveau Dictionnaire François, par P. Richelet.

[w] Crédence, de l'italien, *credenza*, sorte de petite table, où on met tout ce qui sert au sacrifice et aux cérémonies de l'autel; à Lyon elle est de pierre, à Beauvais c'est un véritable buffet de bois.

De Vert, III. 169.

[x] In the collegiate church at Cobham is also one on the left, without, as may be supposed, any projection. At Mans the credence is on the Gospel side, as also at Lyons, together with the piscina, on account of the sacristy being on the North.

De Vert, III. 169.

Tobias Lohner Instructio Practica de Miss. fac, 203. The modern credence is thus described by this author: "Credentia id est mensa brevis demissa simplice a latere Epistolæ posita sine gradibus, sine cruce, vel imaginibus, cooperta linteis usque ad terram undequaque pendente."

[y] Parva campanula, ampullæ, &c.—in fenestella seu parva mensa ad hæc præparata.

Missale Rom. ex decreto, &c. 1658.

Hence the authority of the word *fenestella*, so often used for signifying the nich containing the piscina and credence.

the double purpose of *piscina* and *credentia*, the projection is by far too small to contain the above articles, being scarcely broad enough for the foot of the chalice; but in this case the chalice was placed on the altar; and when it is understood the apparatus for the ablutions was probably fixed in the lower part of the nich, ample room will be found on the credence for the remainder. I also conceive it is evident, that the *fenestella* is equally signified by either *credentia* or *piscina*. These fixtures occur equally frequent in foreign churches as our own; and as it may tend to throw some farther light on them as relicks of ecclesiastical antiquity, I will bring a single example from the usages of the cathedral at Rouen. The choral clerks, having in the sacristy taken the *ampullæ*, the large silver basin [z], and large napkin, come to the altar, followed by the sub-deacon with the chalice and patin covered with the veil; in the mean time the deacon removes the missal from the Epistle to the other side the altar, to make room for the chalice, which is set in its place; for in the cathedral it is never placed on the credence or buffet, where only are put the *ampullæ*, basin, and napkin [a]. In the churches of our own country are yet remaining specimens of this kind of altar accompaniment, well deserving attention. That at Cowling, Kent, affords an example of one of vast size; it has a double *piscina* and credence, capable of containing every requisite for the altar, and is also remarkable for its depth of architrave, supported by a pillar dividing the whole into

[z] But a single basin is now in use, as it is the custom, as has been already observed, to drink the ablution of the chalice.

[a] Voyages Liturgiques de France, p. 364.

two compartments [*b*]. I shall also take notice of one more in the church at Bapchild, Kent, probably of an antiquity not much inferior to that of the introduction of the pointed arch. It is curiously hollowed out of the Eastern pillar of the chancel, and once belonged to a chauntry or chapel on the North side of that building. It is divided by a short pillar into two compartments; in the one is the square hollow of the *piscina*; and the flat space on the same level in the other served the purpose of the *credentia* [*c*]. Sometimes a wooden shelf is wedged across the *fenestella*. This might have been the general custom, but, on account of the decay of the wood, few may have reached our time. Those which have the projection of stone are less often found than quite plain [*d*]; and, it may be judged from what has been offered on these subjects, that where the nich is wholly wanting, the fixed

[*b*] See Plate XIV. fig. 4, where a geometrical plan, elevation, and section, of the *fenestella* in Cowling church is given. a. a. credence, b. b. the *piscina*, as described by De Vert.

[*c*] Plate XVII. fig. 1.

[*d*] In the *fenestella* in Norwood's Chauntry the credence is of wood. See Plate XVI. At Chalk it is of stone, as in Plate XV.

In a beautifully illuminated manual in the possession of Mr. Marfaut, of College-street, Westminster, is a drawing of a pope while celebrating a private mass, and just about to elevate the host or chalice; he is attended by two chaplains, the one bearing a triple cross, the other the tiara; in the back ground is a *piscina*, in which, it is to be remarked, there is placed neither credence nor vessel of any kind, and in the view the table credence must be kept from sight by the South end of the altar. This curious volume, written in a hand scarcely imitable by types, and decorated in a superior style of ornament, appears from the junction of the white and red roses, crowned, and supported by the dragon and greyhound, depicted as part of a border at the bottom of a page, to have been of the time of Henry VII; nor can it be later than 1533, when the pope's supremacy was laid aside, whose head has in the representation above alluded to, as may be judged from that account, been erased.

or

or movable table supplied its place, and that the customs in those observances relating to it, either in its single or double capacity, were regulated accordingly.

It may not here be deemed improper to offer a hint or two of another small nich, sometimes found on the North side of that part of the chancel or churches where once the altar was fixed, as also in the Eastern walls. This was the "*sacrarium, claustrum altaris, tabernaculum, armorium & almery* [*e*]", in which the *ciborium* or vessel containing the Eucharist was preserved for the use of the sick [*f*]; a direction for the making this kind of *sacrarium* occurs in the 7th of archbishop Peckham's Constitutions at Reading of 1279, and in the 2d of the same prelate's at Lambeth of 1281, which take in the words of Mr. Johnson; "We charge, for the future, the most worthy sacrament of the Eucharist to be so kept, that a tabernacle be made in every church with a decent inclosure, according to the greatness of the cure and value of the church in which the Lord's body may be laid, &c." There are but few of these to be met with, as the custom of this country was to have a suspension [*g*], according to the very ancient practice. Relicks of this kind occur in the French churches; in that of St. Stephen des Tonneliers at Rouen the old *sacrarium* remains in much the

[*e*] In the wainscot at the end of the altar were four grand *almeries*, to preserve the chalices and silver cruets, with two or three suits of vestments belonging to the said altar, for principal days. Davis's History of Durham Abbey.

Almery, from armorium, Lat. Armoire, Fr. a closet. There are extant decrees of councils forbidding the Eucharistic Sacrament to be thus kept.

[*f*] Among the church plate, under the care of the sacrist of Cobham college, was "i. cuppa argentea et deaurat' pro sacramento altaris cotidie imponendo; item tres calices." It has been already seen, there were three altars in this collegiate church.

Reg. Ross. 239.

[*g*] Suspendio ciborii, sub titulo Crucis.

same

same state as in our own, where, says Moleon, they did not preserve the Holy Sacrament for the sick as now at the altar, but in a small closet on the Gospel side of the altar, near the image of St. Stephen, where the hinges are yet to be seen [b]. Without running into a detail of the beautiful tabernacles which were introduced into the place above described in the 16th century, it will on this head suffice to remark, that there are niches or closets about the chancels and choirs of churches, which were most likely a deposit for books and other things used in those places.

Having endeavoured to offer the best account in my power of the most remarkable particulars about the altar, permit me to say a few words relative to the formation of the altar itself. In the infancy of the church, and while Christianity was oppressed and persecuted, wood of all materials seems most likely to have been admitted into the construction of altars, as most easily carried from house to house and city to city, in the necessities of those times [i]; and that this is the case is evident from several passages of the fathers [k]. But, upon peace being granted to the Christian world by Constantine the Great, altars were erected of stone [l]; and the council of Hippo, at which the famous St. Augustine, then in priest's orders, was present, in its 6th canon, forbids them in future to be consecrated unless of this material. The Epauniensian council in 517, canon 26, forbids also altars, unless of stone, to be consecrated by the infusion of chrism. About 315, Pope Sylvester is said to

[b] In the church of Higham, Kent, is a small *fensella* with a piscina, and over it an almy with the iron hooks of the hinges yet remaining; a like appendage occurs in the church of St. Mary Overee, Southwark.

[i] Grancolas, ut supra, II. 37.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Durandus de Ritibus, p. 267. Parisiis, 1631.

have

have decreed, that stone altars should be every where brought into use; yet he suffered the old one of wood to remain in the Lateran church as a memorial of ancient usage [m]; and Grancolas, in his antient Sacramentary, says, the altar of St. John Lateran is yet of wood [n]. From this abstract of the general practice of the church in this particular, you may not be surprized at the remark in the letter I had the pleasure of addressing to you in reply to your enquiry concerning the reason of my dissent from the late Sir Joseph Ayloffe, in his account of Sebert's monument; nor could I conceive the single instance of the wooden altar of the martyrdom in Canterbury cathedral, mentioned by Erasmus, of sufficient weight to set aside the customary usage. Even this might have had its stone *super altare* inserted, as was the custom, and in effect become one of stone. The portable altar was so fitted, and was, when the stone was drawn from the wood, deemed to have lost its consecration [o].

Erasmus, when he mentions that at Canterbury, makes himself its apology: "pusillum," says he, "nec ulla re vindicandum nisi monumento vetustatis laxum hisce temporibus exprobrante [p]." Poverty and persecutions were generally admitted as pretty sufficient reasons for a deviation from ecclesiastical institution, pertaining merely to matters of discipline; and thus the altar of the martyrdom might have existed from the poverty and inconvenience of early foundation, and been even ancient when Becket going to Vespers, nearly in the moment of assassination, bade his last farewell

[m] Durandus, ubi supra.

[n] Grancolas, II. 23.

[o] Altare portabile consecrationem amittit cum lapis a ligno avellitur.

Theologiæ Dogm. & Morales, tom. III. Natale Alexandro auctore.

[p] Peregrinatio religionis ergo, p. 268.

to the Virgin at its foot [9]; and, like that in the Lateran church at Rome, and for the same reason, might also have been preserved and venerated as a monument of antiquity [r].

And now, Sir, because custom, though founded on the same principles, has ever, arising from various causes, been subject to mutability, I conceive it impossible to conclude my attempt at an historical investigation of the seats erected in different ages and situations in the presbytery of the church, better than in the words of the so often cited bishop of Mande: "*Non igitur lectoris moveatur animus si fortassis in hoc opusculo legerit quæ in sua non noverit ecclesia observari, aut non invenerit quicquid ibi servatur. Non enim uniuscujusque loci specialia, sed communes atque usitatiores ritus hic perfequimur—nec sit nobis possibile quorumlibet locorum specialia perscrutari [s].*"

To the sedile in Chalk church am I indebted for the pleasure I receive in presenting to you the foregoing remarks on some of the more particular of our yet existing remains of ecclesiastical antiquity. I will now farther take the oppor-

[9] *Illic vir pius dicitur extremum vale dixisse Virgini cum mors immineret.*

Erasmus, ubi supra.

[r] It is not by any means presumed, from what has here been remarked, that altars of wood were totally disused. There were occasions on which they were admitted as extremely proper; but these were chiefly of a temporary nature. Upon the canonization of a saint, an altar of this kind is directed to be placed in the middle of St. Peter's church, within an inclosure, as an accommodation to the pope, who was then to perform a solemn celebration.

Wilkins' Councils, III. 638.

In the chamber in which was laid the body of Henry IV. of France after his assassination, were two altars erected (most likely of wood), at which masses were continually performed.

Sully's Memoirs.

And it is highly probable, that the altars erected on the occasion of an ecclesiastical council, when held out of a church, were all of wood.

[s] *Rationale Divinorum, Lib. I. Proæmium, N° 16.*

VOL. XI.

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tunity of offering a few observations on the fabric itself, in which it has been so long and so well preserved.

There are notices of Chalk since the Saxon times. At this place archbishop Dunstan was present when a partition of the estate of one Ælfige was made, who, upon being taken ill, had sent for this prelate. Also at the time of Doomsday Survey there appears to have been a church at *Celca*, though of this it cannot be supposed any part at this time can possibly remain, notwithstanding the present building, as acknowledged by Hasted [1], has the appearance of much antiquity; at the time also of this survey the manor was found among the possessions of the bishop of Baieux, upon whose disgrace, 1082, being divided into moieties, East Chalk fell into the hands of John de Burgo, son of Hugo the famous justiciary, who settled it, 1270, on the monks of Bermondsey. West Chalk in the reign of Henry III. belonged to Nevile, and afterwards to the Cobhams, and was settled on the college of Cobham in this county: the other manors of Beccles and Raynehurst, in the same parish, were also possessed by this illustrious ancient family. The church was, in 1327, appropriated to the Benedictine priory at Norwich, and exchanged, in 1379, with the master and brethren of Cobham college [2], for that of Martham in Norfolk. Whether this building

[1] History of Kent, vol. I. p. 513.

[2] So poor was this vicarage, that, about 1479, it seems not to have been able to afford the expence of a new missal, for, among the books received by indenture into the charge of the sacrist at Cobham, is this item:

Nil missalia, de quibus unum est in ecclesia de Chalke.

Registrum Roffense, p. 239.

By the original endowment, which was settled by bishop Haymo de Hethe in the year 1327, the vicar was subject to the charge of binding books, *libros etiam ligari faciet* (Reg. Roff. p. 205); consequently a new missal, when wanted, was

to

building has any obligations to the above spiritual or temporal possessors, wholly or in part, or if erected by a subscription of the parishioners, or by a remission of temporal punishment, or penance enjoined by the priest to all persons contrite and confessed on condition of charitably contributing towards its rebuilding or repairs, usually termed an indul-

to be found by the impropiator. In 1512, July 23, the college of Cobham was adjudged, by bishop Fisher, to pay to the vicar a yearly pension of xls. in money, and a quarter of barley, upon condition that the vicar serve the cure faithfully, and bear at his own expence all burdens ordinary and extraordinary.

Ad. Cur. Confist. A. 1511, 1513, fol. 386.

John Wren, M. A. was instituted to this vicarage October 22, 1712, and died August 22, 1724. He was chaplain to the garrison at Sheerness, and compiler of the very useful little book, "The Clergyman's Companion for visiting the Sick." (MS. Life of the rev. John Lewis, minister of Mergate, written by himself.) He was succeeded by John Colson, who, on the reverend Stephen Thornton's declining the acceptance of the mastership of the Mathematical Free school at Rochester, founded by Sir Joseph Williamson, to which he had been appointed by the decree in Chancery, was elected into that office. Mr. Colson was of Christchurch college, in Oxford, but acquired the degree of M. A. at Cambridge by royal mandate, April 25, 1728. May 15, 1739, he resigned the vicarage of Chalk, with a proviso, that he should be chosen Lucasian professor of the Mathematics at Cambridge, which event took place on the 21st of the same month. He resided in Sidney college, and occurs in 1752 rector of Lockington in Yorkshire, a benefice in the patronage of that society, and died in January, 1760, at an advanced age. Deservedly famous as Mr. Colson was for his superior knowledge in mathematics, probably his name has been more extensively spread from his having had, whilst master of the school at Rochester, Mr. Garrick for his pupil. It was in consequence of a request from the learned Mr. Walmsley, register of the diocese of Lichfield, that this extraordinary genius was put under the tuition of Mr. Colson. Mr. Walmsley's letter of recommendation was originally published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XXXVI. p. 450; and in vol. LXI. p. 259, it is mentioned, that the only picture of Mr. Colson was drawn at the expence of his friend Dr. Thorpe, which the late Mr. Thorpe presented, a little before his death, to the University of Cambridge, where it is deposited in the public library. S. D.

gence [x], are circumstances ever to remain buried in oblivion ; however, the church was ever small and poor, and, unless antiquity

[*] As a grant of an indulgence in the English language is rather a curiosity, a copy of one given by cardinal Lawrence Campejus, bishop of Salisbury, which was in his time printed and distributed as a hand-bill, is from one of the original (most probably unique) here introduced.

“ Be it knowen unto all trew crysten people, that Lawrence, by the grace of God, bysshop of Salyisbury, cardynall and legate de latere to our holy father pope Cleme't the vii. of that name, to all those that be confessyd, or wyllynge to be confessyd, that will vyfyt, fende, or put to theyr helpynge handes, to the mayntenance of this the pore hospytale of the blyssed Trynyte and Saynte Thomas the marter, in the paryshe of Saynt Martyne, wythin the cyte of Salyisbury, for the relese, ayde, and succoure of pore men and women dayly thither commynge, hath grauntyd, ever to endure, to every of these festys followyng, vii yerres and vii lentys a pardon ; that is to say, in the fest of the bleffyd Trynyte, vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon. Also on Good Frydaye vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon. Also the fyrst Sonday in Lente, Passyon Sonday, the Assumpeyo' of our blyssed Lady, the two festys of Saynt Thomas the Martyr, and every of these festys, a hundred dayes, and theyr penaunce released. Also our holy father pope Boniface the ix, hath graunted at all tymes to all the benefactours of the sayd place vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon, and the vii parte of theyr penaunce mercifully to be released.

☉ Also pope Urbane the vii hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also pope Gregory the ix hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also pope Alexander the x hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also pope Innocent the vii hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also pope John the xxiii hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also pope Martyne the v hath graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon.

☉ Also all bullyes and pryuylegys of his predeceffoures ratyfyeth and confirmeth and graunteth to all the foresayd benefactours to be partakers of all pylgrimages in and to the holy lande, and of the consecracyon of the blyssed body and blood of Cryste. Also of all sentence of excommunycacyon and cursynge not wyttyng of them to be affoyled. Also they be forgynen of all synnes forgotten and penaunce broken negligently. Also every archebyssop and byssoppys of Englande (Irelande), and Walys, hath grauntyd xi days of pardon, with many other great indulgencys and pardons at all tymes in the yere, as by bulles under

antiquity may have sufficient interest to recommend it to your consideration, it is scarcely on any other pretension worthy your notice. From the high road the church, but more particularly the tower, as seen among the neighbouring trees, has a pleasing effect, and, from its situation on a hill, is a picturesque object to the surrounding country. Upon a near approach it has scarcely any thing about its exterior capable of attracting attention. From the pillars and arches enclosed in the wall, it is evident it once had a South aisle; and the remains of a wall in a line with the West end, and an arch on the South side the tower, now closed up, are a farther confirmation. The entrance is through a porch [y], which

lede within the sayd place grauntyd by dyuers popes of Rome more playnely dothe appere. Also oure holy father pope Clement the vii, that now is, confirmed all the aforesayd indulgence and pardon, and graunted vii yerres and vii lentys of pardon, and Goddys blessing and his."

As the above copy of this remarkable grant could not be esteemed complete if no notice was taken of a wood cut at its commencement, a tracing is given in Plate XLV. fig. 5, it being no very common representation of the Trinity, and seeming to have a reference to the doctrine of indulgences.

[y] In the corner of this porch on the right hand of the entrance to the tower, which seems originally to have served this purpose, are the remains of a basin for holy water. Belonging to churches were two kinds of vessels for this use, both known among the French by the same term "Benitier." Those at the entrance are said to have succeeded the fountains anciently placed near these parts. Writers differ as to their being situated, either within or without the church, as they do in their appellation, several of which are noticed by Durand, p. 205, who chuses for himself "Labrum." In the old English they are signified by *stoups*, which might have served as well for that fixed at the entrance as the other, having a bail, and not unlike a pail or kettle, for processional uses, and supplying those at the doors; a beautiful specimen of which is engraved in the tenth volume of the *Archæologia*, plate XXXVIII. p. 472. One of these was given in charge to the sacrist of Cobham college. "1 stoppa de a n, pro aqua benedicta," Reg. Ross. p. 239. Within this church, on the right of the North

which is an additional building,, as may be concluded from its not being bonded into the part adjoining, and was, as may be supposed from the present roofing, formerly embattled. It has a nich in front of a neat Gothic form, in which, as patroness, was placed the figure of the Virgin ; it is also decorated with some rude and antick deformities, which, having been already described [z], I shall beg leave to pass without farther notice. From this porch you enter through the tower into the church, which consists of a great chancel, nave, and on its North side a single aisle ; on the opposite was, as before hinted, one corresponding ; the upper members of the architrave of its arches are yet visible, resting on monkish heads. About this building are plainly three distinct styles of architecture discoverable ; the first in the pillars which separate the aisle from the body ; they are square, having a three-quarter column at each angle, with capitals of a single astragal and plain tympan ; and, what is rather extraordinary, over them the idea of a cornice is preserved. These pillars I presume to be the most ancient part of the whole, and to have served the same purpose in the first church built here after the Conquest, and are evidently Norman. The altar steps are yet to be seen ; the chancel was fitted with desks and seats now converted into two pews. In the South wall of the nave, is the seat and piscina already described : opposite to each other are two iron hooks

North door remains a shaft on which a holy-water basin was fixed. These seem to have been wholly unnoticed by our writers, and their uses bestowed on the piscina. Fig. 3, Pl. XIV. represents the remains of the basin at Chalk, in the style of the figures over the porch, and let into the wall of the tower, probably a gift of the Martins. Fig. 2. represents the basin at Milton, near Gravesend, introduced for marking the difference between these vessels and the piscina.

[z] *Bibliotheca Topographica*, N^o VI. Part 1. p. 17.

with

with rings, on which was extended the veil, by which in Lent the altar was kept from sight. The screen is of pretty good joinery in the grotesque taste, and, possibly, a re-erection of Mary's days, when screens and rood-lofts were in use for the last time. Here, in the Eastern wall, are three tall lancet windows, with a neat moulding running round them. These pillars point out the second mode of building, or early Gothic, and were probably with the plain pointed arches supported by the pillars first mentioned, erected about the middle of the thirteenth century. They seem to have been the common form at that time, and generally mark the most antient parts in our Gothic edifices. The bay window, which seems an aggregate of these, probably not being so early an invention, to which the rage for painted glass, a decoration if not so durable yet far more beautiful than the so much boasted mosaic, might not have a little contributed, as it seems farther to have given rise to the infinite variety of compartments and extent into which our ancestors divided their windows, as the scarcity or total want of glass was the original cause of their smallness and paucity. In the chapel of Newark hospital, Maidstone, built between 1244 and 1260, the windows are all of the lancet kind, as they are in the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, built between 1174 and 1184, or 1220, when the body of archbishop Becket was enshrined; and, probably, had the architect been acquainted with the mode of divisions by means of stone tracery, we should not have seen the superb painted glass in the windows of that curious building supported by iron framing. The remaining part of the church, in which the subdivided arch and multiform windows are to be met with, is in the usual mode of the 14th and 15th centuries, till the arch is said to have become very obtuse in the reigns of the Tudors.

At

At the East end of the aisle was a very good window, now walled up. The corbolls on either hand point out an altar to have been placed before it. These projections frequently occur, and probably were for supporting a wooden frame, as an ornament. Here also, on the left hand, are the two old arches mentioned by Weever; and the whole has much the appearance of having had formerly a chauntry founded in it, or if not, a second altar at least was necessary in every church for the performance of the low masses on the *feriæ*, and not unlikely those sung on the lesser festivals, as that in the great chancel might be reserved for the more solemn occasions; as also for reciting masses by a priest hired during a month, year, or more, viz. trentals, annuals, &c. for the souls of those whose fortunes were too narrow for endowing a perpetual chauntry for this purpose; and should these arches even have ever been destined as monuments to perpetuate the memory of the founders of such an establishment, by which a second clergyman would be introduced into this church, the explanation of the seat given in the presbytery will not be affected, as the style of building in the two point out, probably, the difference of a century in their erection. It is also a doubt whether there was a rood-loft in this place, as no steps or other means of mounting to it are to be seen; besides, this seems to have been supplied by the yet remaining reading desk, or *ambon*, whose foot and upright of oak timber shew it to have existed from a date prior to the Reformation. Yet it was not without its rood; a legacy of one acre of land to the light of the Holy Cross being left by Alicia Martin, who also bequeathed four acres of land to her mother Constance Potkin, with remainder, upon her decease, to her brother John and his assignees, to be disposed of

of for the health of her soul [a]. The windows were formerly glazed with painted glass, in which, it is noticed by Weever, were memorials of the benefactions of this lady and her husband, who were here buried. Their grave-stone has been removed, and its brass plate torn off, which lies in halves in the parish chest. There were also two other anniversaries or obits in this church, one on the second Sunday in Lent, for John Potkin; and the other for William May [b]. The church-wardens' accounts extend two centuries back; and one of the bells has this motto:

XPC. PIE. FLOS. MARIE.

And now, Sir, having made mention of every particular possibly deserving remark, I shall beg leave to remain,

With great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Gravesend,
Nov. 1, 1792.

CHARLES CLARKE.

[a] Stowell's Extracts printed in the Customale Roffense. "Item lego lum' S'cte crucis in ecclesia predict. unam acram terre, &c."

[b] John Potkin left iii acres of land, viii another sheep, and viii sheep lease in Westmerish, to Robert Mason and his heirs, for keeping his obit for ever.

Ibid.

William May also wills his wife to keep his obit with vi bushels of wheat made into bread, and in drink x bushels of malt, and in cheese xxid. to be given to the poor; and the feoffees to see this done for ever. Ibid.

There was a like dole of bread, cheese, and beer, given annually to the poor at Cliff parsonage on St. James's day, till lately discontinued by the present rector.

Explanation of part of the Plan of an antient
BASILICA given in Plate XIV, fig. 1.

1. The pontifical chair, feat, or throne, placed on three steps.

2. 2.3.3. benches, or seats of stone or wood circularly ranged, on which are seated his ministers. They place themselves at the two sides of the altar during the sacrifice, when the bishop officiates; the deacons and subdeacons remain standing before him in the presbytery, which is the place of the prelate's seat, and the benches for the priests and other attendants.

4. The altar placed in the sanctuary under the *abfis*; the sanctuary is the circuit, or place where the altar is fixed.

5. The place of the celebrant at the altar fronting the East, with his back to the people.

666666. Place of the deacons behind the celebrant, the archdeacon being in the midst.

7777777. Place of the subdeacon, in the midst of whom is the archsubdeacon. They remain standing behind the altar towards the West, fronting the celebrant, by far the greater part of the sacrifice; during the offertory and communion they place themselves behind the deacons.

ABC. Place of the celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon, during the commencement of the mass, when a simple priest officiates instead of the bishop.

DD.

DD. Place of the curtain with which the altar was surrounded after the sacrifice. This is still practised in many churches, at least in Lent.

8. The choir.

9. Entrance to ditto.

ee. Benches on the right and left for the singers.

10. The ancient situation of the *ambon*, tribune, or reading desk, which was fixed at the entrance of the choir, between the clergy and the people.

11. Desk for reading the Gospel.

12. Ditto for the Epistle.

15. Place of the men on the South.

16. Place of the women on the North.

17. Door of the sacristy on the right in entering the church.

26. The enclosure of the choir.

Explication simple, littérale, & historique, des Cérémonies de l'Eglise, par D. Claude de Vert, tom. III. 44.



Notices of SEDILIA, in addition to those mentioned in the Tenth Volume of the *Archæologia*.

KENT.

Maidstone. In the chapel of Newark hospital, and of the same age, a triple seat and piscina, the Eastern seat a few inches higher than the other two on the same level.

Bobbing. Three handsome seats; the Eastern, or sacerdotal seat, a few inches higher than the other two, which are of the same height.

Hoo St. Warburgh. A graduated seat of three compartments.

Stroud. A seat of the same kind as at Hoo.

Gillingham. A triple seat, the Eastern about six inches higher than the other two.

Upchurch. Three seats of stone, like armed chairs, of unequal heights. They are placed under the Eastern arch, which divides the great chancel from another on the South; the backs are wholly gone. There is a small piscina, and in the Eastern wall of the sanctuary two large almeries, divided each by a munion.

Cowling. Three seats, as already mentioned.

Rainham. Three graduated, under as many divided pointed arches supporting tall pediments, and of a later date than the chancel in which they stand.

Rodmersham. Under the Eastern arch, which separates the great chancel from one on the South, is a triple [f] seat

[c] Haisted has, by mistake, made a quadruple sedile in this church.

of oak, like a threefold arm chair, the back of open Gothic tracery, with a large covered canopy over head, finished with a fleur de lis, like open fret, little decayed, and altogether very handsome. This points out, that however common to form this accompaniment with stone, yet wood came in for a share in their construction, and also accounts for their not being found in every church; and it may be nearly esteemed a general rule, that when the high chancel was separated by open arches and a screen, as is frequently to be seen, particularly in the better churches, the sedile was generally placed as here and at Upchurch, and for the most part of this material; also in the South chancel of this church are two antient Gothic arches, which seem to have been a like appendage.

Northfleet. In the great chancel of this handsome church remains the bench of formerly a beautiful level triple seat, which was supported on pillars, and wholly projecting from the wall like that at Rochester. In the South chancel, in the wall, is another of the same number of compartments, graduated and antient.

Southfleet. A pretty graduated triple seat.

Milton. Ditto, and piscina, with a canopy supported by Petworth marble pillars, and the sacerdotal seat a few inches higher than the others.

Milton, near Sittingbourn. A double sedile, already mentioned.

Minster in Sheppy. In a chauntry chapel on the North side the great chancel a double sedile.

Woldham. On the South side of the altar a plain stone bench.

Cobham. In the great chancel of the collegiate church, a richly decorated triple seat, each compartment on a level.

The piscina remarkably large, and richly decorated, and the hollow in a semi-octangular pedestal.

Cliff. A triple sedile, with a rising or graduated bench of rich and beautiful workmanship; the compartments are separated by buttresses, topped with finials and half columns, supporting compound pointed arches and canopies. The *fenestella* here, as at Maidstone, has the appearance of a fourth arch; the piscina is double, and the whole forms a noble specimen of truly elegant Gothic architecture.

Camberwell, Surrey. A neat seat of three compartments, even, and projecting like that at Rochester.

Turvey, Bedfordshire. An ancient *confessus* of four compartments.

Stanford le Hope, Essex. A graduated triple seat.

Great Badow, Essex. On the South side the altar a plain stone bench with a piscina.



XXIV. *A brief Survey of a part of Canterbury Cathedral, as described by Eadmer and Gervase : and a Review of Mr. Clarke's Opinion of the original Use of Stone Seats in Chancels. By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. A. S.*

Read November 28, 1793.

MR. Clarke has expressed his obligation to me for transmitting his Observations on the Appendages to Altars, of which large remains are frequently to be seen in parish churches; and I have assured him it was with pleasure I discharged the office, because convinced the paper did him much credit; and that, from the information and amusement it afforded, it would be very acceptable to the Society to whom it was presented. A hope I likewise entertain, that our Society will be favoured with more communications from a gentleman studious in investigating subjects of antiquity, and well qualified to illustrate them with his pencil and pen.

To the validity of his remarks on the *fenestellæ*, or niches, within the South walls of chancels, I see no ground for objecting; on the contrary I am satisfied he has completely rectified the erroneous idea which had almost universally prevailed, of their having been receptacles for holy-water. But after a close, and I am willing to believe, an unprejudiced, examination of his ingenious arguments, with apt authorities, I cannot think he has been equally successful in the appropriation of the stone seats. On this point there is still between us a difference in opinion, which I am in some degree inclined

clined to impute to his having in his thoughts (as was also the case with the late Mr. Wells) churches in France; and to his being very conversant in the works of the eminent ritualists of that country. Because, as I apprehend, a doubt may be made, whether from the arrival of Augustine, the missionary of the Roman pontiff, to the abolition of the pope's supremacy, our ancestors ever gave a preference to the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican church. Mr. Johnson, an indefatigable compiler of our ecclesiastical laws, would not allow, that they did [a]. And, supposing him not to have been mistaken in his judgement, a strict uniformity in the appendages to chancels, within which these rites were to be performed, was hardly to be expected. That our notions should not exactly coincide is the less to be wondered at with respect to churches in England, since no decisive evidence has been offered on either side. The name by which these seats were distinguished we are yet to learn, it not having occurred to either of us in any ecclesiastical constitution or historian. Frankly therefore do I acknowledge that my opinion, when confined to churches in England, is founded upon conjecture. How far the surmise is tenable will appear from the present review; in the course of which I shall endeavour to obviate the force of those remarks, pressed with the most confidence by my learned correspondent.

A note was subjoined by me to Mr. Clarke's reference to the plan of an ancient church described by the reverend Claude de Vert, wherein I suggested, that in Mr. Bingham's antiquities [b], there were five ichnographies of churches, that had not the three stalls on the South side of the altar,

[a] Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws. General Preface, p. xviii. And A. DCI. 2. not. b. and A. DCCXXXIV. 16. not. 4.

[b] Of the Christian Church, vol. III. p. 151. 8vo edit.

designed,

designed, according to De Vert, for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon; and the conclusion was obvious, that such an arrangement of seats could not have been by any means the regular practice in churches in the East. But, had they been more frequent, it would not have incontrovertibly followed, that the same practice was adopted by the Latin church. For, considering the diversity of opinions held by the two churches, both as to doctrinal tenets, and rites and ceremonies; as also the inveterate animosities and contests between the patriarchs of Constantinople and the bishops of Rome, that occasioned a lasting schism; it was not likely that the members of the Romish communion should have scrupulously imitated those of the Greek church in the form and appendages of their sacred edifices. In a principal article there is a manifest disparity pointed out by the plans just mentioned; for in each ichnography we find a single altar; and it is agreed, that it has ever been the constant custom of the Greek churches to have only one altar; nor, as admitted by several writers, are there any clear vestiges of the contrary practice in the Latin church till the sixth century. But since, as Mr. Bingham remarks (to see what improvement has been made in later ages), there are no less than twenty-five altars, besides the great altar in St. Peter's church in Rome [c]. And in Canterbury cathedral Mr. Battely enumerated thirty-seven altars [d].

Mr. Clarke seems to have taken for granted, that the mode in churches erected in Rome was introduced into this country by Augustine, when he converted our Saxon ancestors. Bede relates, that, at Canterbury, Augustine, by the influence of king Etheldred, recovered the church built, as he was

[c] *Antiquities of the Christian church*, vol. III. B. viii. l. 16. 8vo. edit.

[d] *Cantuar. a Sacra*, pp. 26, 28.

informed, by the old believing Romans; and that he dedicated it to the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [e]. To this historical anecdote, after observing, as I construe the words, that he wished to be understood with some degree of allowance, Eadmer plainly alludes in his description of the church in the dilapidated state in which Lanfranc found it on his promotion to the see; intimating, that a certain part of it resembled the church of St. Peter in Rome, in which the most sacred reliques were universally honoured with decent veneration [f].

The part here meant (termed the confessionary by the Romans [g]) was, I doubt not, the crypt under the presbytery, which was, I rather imagine, continued under the whole choir [h]. But though it is much to be regretted that in this sentence, and in some other passages of the description, there are great obscurities, the situation of three altars, and of the metropolitical chair, is clearly marked.

Contiguous to the wall of the East part of the presbytery, we are told, there was the *great* altar (in *majori* altari), con-

[e] Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. I. c. 33. At Augustinus, ubi in regia civitate sedem episcopalem (ut prædiximus) accepit, recuperavit in ea, regio fultus ad-mirandus, ecclesiam quam Romanorum antiquorum fidelium opere factam fuisse dicitur, et eam in nomine sancti salvatoris Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi fecerunt.

[f] Hæc enim in ecclesia, quod per excessum dici patienter quæso accipiat, sicut in hujusmodi Bedæ testatur. Romanorum opere facta, ut ex quadam parte ad imitationem ecclesie beati Apostolorum principis Petri, in qua sacratissimæ reliquæ totius orbis veneratione celebrantur, composita. Decem Scriptores, col. 1297.

[g] Confessiones appellavit veteres sepulcra martyrum, seu confessorum, quibus ut plurimum imposita erant ipsa altaria, unde proprie ita dictus locus sub majori altari positus, quo sanctorum reliquæ ac corpora reconduntur.

Du Fresnoe ad vocem.

[h] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 43

fructed with stones and cement, in which archbishop Odo had deposited in a high chest the remains of archbishop Wilfrid, translated from Ripon in Yorkshire. And at a convenient distance before this altar was another altar dedicated to Christ, at which divine mysteries were daily celebrated. Below the presbytery was the choir, between which and the nave was a decent partition in order to exclude the concourse of the laity. The West end of the church was decorated with an oratory of the Virgin Mary, to which there was an ascent of several steps, and in the Eastern part of this oratory was an altar to her honour. When the priest officiated at this altar, as the people stood below in the nave, his face was towards them and to the East. But behind him to the West was the archiepiscopal chair, decently fabricated with large stones and cement; and it was very remote from the Lord's table, because quite close to the wall which was the end or finishing of the whole church [i].

Great, the epithet to the altar raised at the East end of the presbytery, is omitted by Battely in his abridgment of Eadmer's detail [k], nor has the monk mentioned the appropriated name; probably conceiving that it was sufficiently known to have been the altar of the Holy Trinity, to whom the church was then dedicated; and, as it is noticed that divine mysteries were daily performed at the altar of Christ, may it not be fairly concluded, that at the upper *great* altar mass was celebrated on the chief festivals?

Somner and Battely, who both imagined Lanfranc to have rebuilt the cathedral, concur in opinion that the archbishop, at his supposed dedication of it, might innovate the name

[i] Utpote parieti ecclesie qui totius templi complexio erat omnino contiguam. X Script. c. 1292.

[k] Cantuaria Sacra, pp. 7. 8.

and title ; altering it from the church of Christ to the church of the Holy Trinity ; and that this notion is confirmed by its being called in Domesday the church of the Holy Trinity. It appears, however, from Domesday, that it was so denominated in the reign of Edward the Confessor [1] ; and Gervase and Thorn expressly relate, that this cathedral recovered the name of Christchurch at the very solemn and sumptuous dedication of it by archbishop Corboyl in the presence of king Henry the First [m].

This ceremony was in consequence of a repair of Lanfranc's choir, with an enlargement to the East by a chapel that was afterwards farther extended. It was a work begun by archbishop Anselm, pursued by Ernulph, and completed by Conrad, in such a style of elegance and beauty as to have obtained for it the appellation of Conrad's glorious choir. The new building was called the chapel of the Trinity, within which, at the East end, was placed the altar so denominated. After this addition, there was an ascent of three steps from the choir into the presbytery ; and a second ascent to the altar dedicated in the name of Christ, termed by

[1] Somner's Antiquities, Appendix, p. 1. Per totam civitatem Cantuariæ habet rex facam et focam, excepta terra eccles. S. Trin. et S. Augustini. Quidam præpositus Brumannus nomine T. R. E. cepit consuetud. de extraneis mercator. in terra S. Trin. et S. Augusti, quod postea temp. W. R. ante archiepiscopum Lanfranc, et episc. Baioc. recognovit se injuste recepisse, p. 47. Nordanda est manerium monachorum sanctæ Trinitatis et in T. R. E. se defendebat pro uno similiter. Eadsham similiter, p. 48. Litlecert iterum est manerium monachorum, et de cibo eorum, quod in T. E. R. se defendebat. Et ex iis habet Will. fil. Hermenfridi dimid. full. et reddit inde altari sanctæ Trinitatis. xxvd.

[m] Willermus Archiepiscopus, qui in gloria magna dedicavit ecclesiam Christi X Script. c. 1293. Dedecatio ecclesie sanctæ Trinitatis ab archiepiscopo Willielmo. Ecclesia sanctæ Trinitatis fuit dedicata a prefato Willielmo archiepiscopo, quæ postmodum ecclesia Christi Cantuariæ vulgariter nuncupata. Ibid. c. 1799.

Gervase the great altar[n]; above which, by a third ascent of three steps, was the patriarchal chair, which was made of one stone.

Of the accommodations for the officiating clergy in the choir described by Eadmer no information is left. In Lanfranc's choir there were both stalls and forms, or benches; and from the directions given in the Constitutions of Lanfranc, when to remove and when to replace these benches, it may, I think, be collected, that some of them were set in the presbytery[o]; not a trace, however, is there of any stall or chair of stone, except that which was for the archbishop. Mr. Clarke observes, that possibly there were not any stone stalls, or that, if there had been any, their disappearance may be imputed to the ravage made by Culmer and his fanatical associates. But, with submission, their acts of violence were leveled at the holy table, because fixed altar-wise, and in that age most frequently styled the altar; or their axes and hammers fell upon crucifixes, crosses, images, and pictures, which, in their conceit, were of an idolatrous cast. The parts of the church which were not thus ornamented were seldom damaged by these outrageous reformers; and it might be owing to this circumstance that so many stone seats still remain in such good condition. In Canterbury cathedral, as Culmer relates[p]; "On the 22d of August, 1642, some zealous troopers hewed the altar rails all to pieces, and threw the altar over, over and over, down the three altar steps,

[n] Capella vero extra murum posita, eidem tamen contigua, &c. X Script. c. 1266. Continebat hic murus monachorum chorum, presbyterium, altare magnum in nomine Jesu Christi dedicatum. Ibid. c. 1299.

[o] Wilkins' Concil. vol. I. p. 334.

[p] Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury, by Richard Culmer, 2d. edit. p. 18.

and left it lying with the heels upwards." But the metropolitan chair, which stood eight steps above the altar, was not disturbed, obnoxious as was the then imprisoned primate who had been enthroned in it.

That there never were any stone seats on the side of the altar I think is the more probable conjecture; and, if we attend to the presbytery, would not stalls placed between the pillars have been at too great a distance, *à cornu epistolæ* of the altar, to have been used with propriety by the celebrant and his assistants? Had stalls of this kind been judged necessary for the officiating ministers, it is somewhat strange that so few are to be seen in cathedral churches; and it will warrant a surmise, that those which are to be found were erected to suit the convenience of particular persons, by whose orders they were constructed.

In a preceding memoir it was suggested by me, that the Eastern stall in Rochester cathedral, marked with the armorial bearings of that see, was for the use of the bishop [q]. But in the opinion of Mr. Clarke, had it been designed for the prelate when he was to celebrate high mass, it ought not to have been beneath the altar, but above it, and placed in such a manner, that the bishop's face might be turned towards the people. According, however, to my idea, and to the expression I used, it was not intended for the bishop on that occasion, but when it might be more desirable for him to be seated nearer the altar than his throne was erected; i. e. either when he was to make an oblation, or when the elements of the Eucharist were in the course of the service to be administered to him. If the bishop himself officiated, a movable chair must have been provided for him, as it was for the priest on other days, and situated conformably to the

[q] *Archæologia*, vol. X. pp. 267, 305.

usage then observed. Of a fixed seat for the bishop above the altar only two instances have occurred ; one in Canterbury cathedral (formerly, as we have seen, placed against the West wall of the nave) ; the other at Norwich, which appears to have been removed at a far distant period. And it is allowed, that in England, generally, for a great length of time, the episcopal throne has been stationed at the East end of the stalls, on the South side of the choir.

Such being the situation of stone seats in chancels, it did not appear to me unlikely, that one reason of constructing them might be to accommodate the bishop and his attendants when a church was consecrated ; though another movable chair, in which he was to be seated during a part of the ceremony, might be as requisite as when he officiated in his own cathedral. This chair could very seldom stand above the altar, there being sufficient grounds to conclude, that in almost all our parish churches the altar must have been contiguous to the East wall. And I am apt to suspect it might not be isolated even in St. Paul's cathedral ; because, in the controversy started by bishop Hooper concerning the situation of the communion table, bishop Ridley, as it is said, endeavoured to compromise the matter ; and therefore in that cathedral suffered the table to stand in *the place of the old altar, but, beating down the wainscot partition behind,* laid all the choir open to the East, leaving the table *then* to stand in the middle of the chancel [r].

That there were to be two seats in the chancel for the bishop, I collect from two of the ordinances of the Roman ritual quoted by Mr. Clarke. In the rule entitled “ De Ecclesiæ Consecratione et Dedicatione,” there was to be an ornamented *faldistorium* in the nave, and another before the

[r] Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 264.

church-door; and, though in this rule one seat only is mentioned near the altar, it is observable, that, in the ordinance "De altaris consecratione quæ fit sine ecclesiæ dedicatione," two seats for the bishop are noticed near the altar, as I construe the passage; one on his right hand, the other on his left, the former of which corresponds with the site of the stone seats, as does the *faldistorium in cornu epistolæ*, in which, or in his episcopal throne, he is directed by the pontifical to place himself after he has put on his mitre, when he was preparing to confer orders. And if in consecrating a private altar, or in conferring orders (a ceremony to be performed at the high altar), there were to be two chairs; the inference cannot be thought strained, that there would be likewise two seats for him when the high altar was to be dedicated. The above decree will likewise partly account for the stone seats to be met with in the aisles of churches, where formerly there were chauntry altars.

Pertinent is Mr. Clarke's observation, that not only altars, but the vessels for them were solemnly appropriated by an office, which was often performed by a suffragan bishop; and I rather believe that churches might be more frequently dedicated, under a special commission, by a prelate of a different district. And though, in this case, the deputed bishop had not probably so many in his suite as the diocesan himself, it should seem that the vicar-general, or his official, must be always present, with not less than one chaplain. But these attendants, being ecclesiastics, would be accommodated in the chancel.

When Mr. Clarke first drew the attention of the public to these seats, he offered it as his opinion, in which Mr. Wells concurred, that they were designed for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, at the celebration of mass; a surmise which appeared

appeared to me to be somewhat dubious, the number of seats in different churches not coinciding with it. To obviate this doubt it is suggested by Mr. Wells, that where there are more than three seats, the supernumeraries were for attendants of inferior rank. And Mr. Robertson is as firmly persuaded, that, if there are fewer seats, it was in consequence of the slender endowment of the churches, which might not be competent for the support of more than one or two ministers. But I much question whether, on a close enquiry, the proportion of the number of seats to the profits of the benefice will apply to those churches in which the seats have been discovered. On the contrary, as far as my research has extended, it is evident that there are single seats in churches endowed with a much larger revenue than what appertained to other churches, where there are three and more seats [q]. It shall be admitted that the common rule

(q)		Value.						Value.			
		A. D.		1291, 1534.				A. D.		1291, 1534.	
Stalls,	NORTHAMPTONSH.	Mark.	l.	s.	d.	Stalls,	LEICESTERSHIRE *.	Mark.	l.	s.	d.
Vic. 1	Helmdon, -	16	16	1	6	Reft. 1	Saddington, -	-	19	2	3½
Reft. 1	Stoke Bruere, -	20	31	10	7	6	Halloughton †, -	-	30	-	-
—	Benefield, -	20	36	-	-	Vic. 2	Croxton Kyriel, -	-	7	14	6
—	Barnak, -	34	29	10	7	6	Oadby, -	-	8	-	-
—	Tiffield, -	9	10	-	-	3	Little Dalby, -	-	9	-	-
—	Courtenhall, -	9	13	8	1	3	Buckminster, -	-	8	7	3
Vic. 3	East Haddon, -	15	13	6	8	LINCOLNSHIRE.					
—	Rothwell, -	17	8	9	6	—	Sleaford, -	-	8	-	-
Reft. 5	Newton Bromfwood, 6½	8	6	8	-	—	Benington, -	-	20	1	10
KENT.											
Reft. 1	Lenham, -	-	13	15	2½	BEDFORDSHIRE.					
—	Rokefly, (A. 1530,) 8	-	-	-	-	Vic. 3	Biggleswade, -	-	10	-	-
Vic. 3	Rodmersham, -	-	8	6	8	Reft. 4	Turvey, -	-	11	-	-
—	Bexley, -	10	13	4	7	HEREFORDSHIRE.					
—	Hoo St. Werburgh 10	10	8	-	-	Vic. 2	Dormington, -	-	4	6	8
Reft. 3	Cliffe, -	110	50	-	-	Reft. 2	Weston subtus Penyard, -	-	18	-	-
—	Northfleet, -	110	-	-	-	Vic. 3	Goodeston, -	-	6	11	11½
Vic. 1	The fame, -	-	21	-	-	—	Brodenham, -	-	7	1	9
ESSEX.											
Reft. 3	Stanford le Hope, -	-	12	19	9½	Reft. 3	Feltwell, St. Mary, -	-	14	17	3½

* All that are here noticed in Leicestershire are engraving for Mr. Nichols's History of that county.

† At Halloughton and at Oadby there are two sets of stalls; three in the chancel, and three in the South aisle.

expected to be followed was to have clergymen of the three different classes abovementioned at the celebration of high mass; and it was under this supposition ordained by archbishop Winchelsea, that the parishioners should provide the vestments for each of these ministers respectively, viz. three surplices, a principal vestment with a chasuble (for the priest), a dalmatic (for the deacon), and a tunic (for the subdeacon). [r].

But all these vestments were not really wanted for very many churches, the revenues of them not being adequate to the maintenance of so large a clerical establishment. It was therefore enjoined by the synodical acts of the diocese of Norwich (1257), that in those churches, the income of which was too small to defray the charge of a deacon and subdeacon, there should be one decent clerk at least, who, in a suitable habit, was to administer to the priest in divine offices [s]. Such was also the direction of a synodical meeting in Ely (1364) [t]; and was probably the rule in most dioceses. In many ordinations of vicarages, a vicar and a clerk are the persons specified; and generally, small as was the endowment, the vicar was necessitated to find the clerk. Lenham in Kent was appropriated to the abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury, and the vicar and a capellan were to supply the parish church and the chapel of Rayton [u]. I
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[r] Wilkins' Concil. II. p. 280; and Lyndwood, Provinciale, p. 252.

[s] Wilkins' Concil. I. p. 733. In singulis quoque ecclesiis, quarum facultates ad hoc sufficiunt, sint unus diaconus, et subdiaconus in eisdem, ut decet ministrantes. In aliis vero ecclesiis sit saltem clericus unus honestus, qui sacerdoti cum habitu convenienti in divinis ministret officiis.

[t] Ibid. vol. III. p. 61.

[u] X. Script. c. 2098, 9, Ordinatio vicariæ de Lenham. Dictus autem vicarius et sui successores deserviet, seu deservient honeste dictæ ecclesiæ de Lenham et capellæ

mention Lenham, because though there were to be here two priests, who were to officiate at the high altar of the mother church on the great festivals, and on other solemn days, there is in the South wall of the chancel only a single stone seat.

A benefice of fifty marks and upwards, according to the common taxation, was subject to the charge of a deacon and subdeacon by a synodical decree of H. de Woodlocke, bishop of Winchester (1308) [*w*]. They were to assist always in administering religious rites, and for them were to be provided a dalmatic and a tunic, with not less than one solemn vestment for the priest. But it is observable, that in a list of between seventy and fourscore churches already noticed as having stone seats in chancels, there are only two, the revenues of which amounted to so large a sum: Cliffe and Northfleet, both in the diocese of Rochester, but under the peculiar jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, are the parishes meant: and Northfleet, after the endowment of a vicarage, must have been considerably below fifty marks, it being now rated for first fruits at £.21. As the value of the benefice cannot, therefore, be evidence decisive to account for the construction of these stalls, I still consider myself warranted in adhering to my own surmise, that they were not originally made for the officiants at the altar, but for the

capellæ de Rayton per se et alterum idoneum capellanum et luminaria invenient in eisdem more debito et consueto. Mr. Hasted (*History of Kent*, vol. II. p. 453.) has misconstrued the passage, in suggesting, that the vicar and his successors should perform the duty of the church by themselves or other proper curate.

[*w*] Wilkins, Concil. II. p. 295. Volumus insuper, quod in singulis ecclesiis, quæ ad quinquaginta marcarum (summam), vel ultra communiter sunt taxatæ, sint unus diaconus, et unus subdiaconus, continuè ministrantes, et unum ad minus vestimentum solenne, ac tunica et dalmatica competens.

convenience of others, who would frequently resort to the churches. I instanced the bishop and his suite at the time of dedication; the archdeacon, when he visited the parish; and the rural dean, when he held a chapter, or court, of the clergy of the district. And I will add farther, that these stalls might also serve for the accommodation of persons who bore constant relation to the church; and who, from having a strict propriety in the chancel, had an unquestionable right to be there seated during the performance of divine worship.

By the council of Laodice [*x*] in the fourth, and by that of Nantes in the ninth century [*y*], and by a Saxon constitution established in the tenth; no woman was allowed to approach the altar, or to stand within the chancel. Johnson, who styles the Saxon canons *Theodulf's capitula*, thus renders from that language the article referred to. "We charge that at the time when the priest sings mass, no woman be nigh the altar, but that they stand in their own place, and that the mass priest there receive of them what they are willing to offer [*z*]." The exclusion of women from the chancel continued in this country to the Reformation; for though, as Lord Bacon relates, Sir Thomas More, when at mass, sat in the *chancel*, his lady was in a *pew*, meaning (observes Mr. Warton) that she sat in one of the common *parish seats*, without and in the nave [*a*].

[*x*] Noticed by Mr. Clarke in *Gent Mag.* vol. LVII. p. 662.

[*y*] Dupin (*Eccles. Hist.* VII. p. 138,) writes, that the canons which bear the name of the council of Nantes are only a collection of several constitutions made at different places. The third canon is, "Ut nulla femina ad altare præsumat accedere, aut presbytero ministrare, aut infra cancellos stare." Dufresne; thus translated in the English edition of Dupin: "The third forbids a priest to have any woman with him, yea those that are accepted by the canons. It forbids also women to approach the altar, officiate as priests, or sit within the rails."

[*z*] *Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws*, A. 994. VI.

[*a*] *Specimen of a Parochial-History*, page 5, note g.

The synodical decree of several dioceses forbade the laity to stand or sit with the clergy during the celebration of divine offices; a prohibition that was, however, subject to some exceptions. For choir singers were admitted; and it was generally at the expence of the rector, or impropriators, that benches were to be provided for them, with desks for the music books [*b*]. In the church of Cobham in Kent they had large chairs, which chairs and desks were strengthened with iron plates [*c*].

Patrons also, and other honourable persons, from a regard to decency, were allowed to enter the chancels; and, as Mr. Clarke has observed, from *Ceremoniale Episcopale*. Roman. lay persons were to be placed on the North side. No direction to this effect have I met with in any constitution of the English church; and if the rule were strictly followed, it may be inferred from the few stone seats that are constructed in, or contiguous to the North wall, that most patrons were satisfied with a movable chair or bench. Nor, I must own, can I see more unsuitableness in their sitting on the South side, with the clergy of different orders, than there was in

[*b*] Wilkins' Concil. I. 625. Constitut. W. de Bleys Wigorn. Epi. A. 1299 ut laici non sedeant in choro inter clericos,—p. 666. Constitut. W. de Cantelupe, Wigorn. Epi. A. 1239, "Nec laici stent in cancellis dum celebrantur divina, salva tamen reverentia patronorum et sublimium personarum." p. 707. Constitut. Willielmi de Kirkham, Epi Dunelm. A. 1255. "Provideant autem rectores, vicarii, et sacerdotes, ne passim laici sedeant et stent in cancello dum divina officia celebrantur, nisi forsan patroni, aut alia venerabilis persona ad hoc ob reverentiam admittatur." Concil. Scotianum, A. 1225. The king and the nobles are excepted. "Excepto domino rege et majoribus regni quibus propter suam excellentiam in hac parte duximus deferendum." Ib. vol. I. p. 618.

[*c*] Registrum Rossense, p. 249. "V cathedræ ferr' pro choro, cum lestrino ferr' ejusdem sectæ." By the canon of the Council of Laodicea, it was ordered that none but the canon chanters who sit in high chairs, and read in books, should sing in the choir.

the

the appropriations of the tythes, which made knights, lay-brothers, and women, if nuns, to be rectors of parishes, on a conceit that they were all members of religious societies [*d*]. But certainly rectors and impropiators, whether regular or secular, would be placed in the stone-seats, though designed for only ecclesiastical persons.

The retaining of all the profits of livings to the private use of patrons, or others, making only a small allowance to a vicar or curate, was not uncommon abroad, but is thought to have been much more prevalent in this country. It was an engine of humiliation and oppression first exercised on the parochial clergy by the Normans with the concurrence of the Roman pontiff; and became so much the custom in England, that within three hundred years after the Conquest, above a third part, and those generally the best benefices, were subject to this abuse [*e*]. Afterwards, as some have reckoned, they amounted to near half; and, according to the computation of bishop Kennet, the appropriated churches exceed those which are free from the burden [*f*]. For the more advantageous management of the glebe land and tythes, the possessors of them would frequently inhabit the parsonage houses; and many of them would be drawn thither from motives of convenience, or for their amusement.

This practice in the regular canons and monks is noticed in a constitution of Othobon, who censures the residence of

[*d*] Bishop Kennet's *Case of Impropiations*, p. 34.

[*e*] *Ibid.* pp. 21. 25.

[*f*] *Ibid.* p. 405, note. At the beginning of the Civil Wars, Dr. Featley made this reckoning of 9000 livings with cure in this kingdom; there are above 4000 so castrated by sacrilegious appropriations, that in very many places of this kingdom, that which remaineth for the incumbent is no way sufficient to support him and his family. *Sacra Nemesis*, 4to. p. 63. It is certain the disproportion is much greater; above 6000 impropiations to 3000 presentative rectories.

a monk by himself in a manor or a church as indecent and perilous. Abbats and priors were therefore directed to take care that at least two monks should in these cases be associated; and that, when the revenues of a church would not maintain two, the church should be committed to seculars[g]. The supply of a church was, however, another plea of absence from their cloisters, of which the monks were not long suffered to avail themselves; for so remiss had they been in the discharge of parochial duties, that the bishops insisted there should be vicars endowed. But, as already suggested, an inadequate allowance was generally made for their support; nor can I for this reason admit, that impropiators would be willing to incur any extraordinary charge in constructing seats of elegance for the vicar and his clerk, though they might be prompted to do it for their own ease and dignity, when they resorted to their parish church. Several of the monks being well skilled in architecture[b], renders it very probable, that not a few of the churches of the numerous parishes of which they possessed the manor, or the tythes appropriate were built on plans they gave, and perhaps often executed under their inspection. A mark of such superintendence may, I think, be traced in Chalk

[g] The only stalls of wood yet discovered in a chancel in England are in Rodmertham church. But, in Millin's *Antiquités Nationales*, there is a beautifully carved plate of a triple seat, of the same material in the church of St. Spire at Corbeil, on the Epistle side of the altar, now, or rather lately used by the officiating priests. It is of the 16th century, and supposed to have been a present from Francis I. whose device, a salamander, appears in the pediment of the Gothic arch over them. As the royal device is placed over the centre seat, which is raised above the collateral seats, might it not be originally constructed to accommodate that monarch?

[b] It seems pretty remarkable, that within the compass of 100 years there should have been six priors of Christchurch, Canterbury, who made architecture their study, and of whose taste and skill we see many proofs at this time. Mr. Gottling's *Canterbury Walk*. p. 252.

church, as described by Mr. Clarke ; he mentioning that the upper member of the architrave of its arches, yet visible, are resting upon monks' heads ; and that, in the chancel, below the piscina and stone seat, there is the head of a monk, which supports the extremity of the rib of the arch.

Concerning the form of these stone seats it cannot be here impertinent to observe, that the arches of those hitherto examined are angular, which limits the introduction of them to a later period than the age of several of the smaller niches, or piscinas, that are of the Saxon, or early Norman style [i]. From which criterion it cannot be thought a forced conclusion, that such fixed seats, supposed to be constructed for the convenience of the officiants at mass, were not common in this country till many years after the Conquest. And from Durand's not expressly mentioning any such *sedilia*, I am disposed to imagine, that at the time he wrote, they were not in France appendages to the altar ; they not, as I conceive, clearly answering to the *exedra* ; and Mr. Clarke admits, that unless the very accurate ritualist alluded to them under the term *exedra*, they remain unnoticed by him. He has, however, named the *piscina* ; and in almost every ancient chancel in England is a piscina to be found within a recess that has an arch semicircular or pointed.

[i] In the South wall of the chancel of St. Mary's at the castle, Leicester, are three pointed stalls of different heights, with zigzag arches of nail-head quatrefoils ; the pillars have flowered capitals, and are double with an interval between each pair. In the South wall of the North aisle are three stalls with four zigzag arches and round columns, separated as the foregoing, with flowered capitals. From this style of building one is naturally led to conclude, that these stalls were not later than the reign of Henry III. and that John of Gaunt only rebuilt the nave and tower, and perhaps the South aisle. It was collegiate before the Conquest, and rebuilt, 1107, by Robert earl of Leicester, of whose time this Saxon work probably is. It is the only instance I have seen of such a style of architecture in these stalls.

R. G.
Rectors,

Rectors, or impropriators, were to repair, and, when necessary, to rebuild their chancels; it rarely happening that this burden was thrown upon vicars. May we not therefore, in some degree, account for the extraordinary elegance in the sculpture of many of these stalls, from their being designed for the accommodation of the impropriators themselves? For instance, in Lenham chancel there is one fine seat with an arched canopy, not for the officiants at the altar, who were two, as already mentioned; but, as I imagine, for the abbat of St. Augustine, or for a chief member of that monastery during his residence at Lenham; as the stalls at the West end of the chancel might be for the inferior monks, and the choir of singers. Rodmersham church being likewise appropriated to the preceptory of the knights hospitallers at West Peckham, I can readily accede to Mr. Haisted's surmise, that the knights, when present, were placed in the triple seat of wood so richly ornamented with Gothic tracery; certain it is, that the endowment of the vicarage was incompetent to maintain a priest and two subordinate clergymen.

To the same circumstance I am for partly attributing both the difference in the number of the seats, and the graduated position of so many of them. Of the three stalls in Chatham church, I allotted the uppermost, and most highly embellished, to the prior of Leeds, rather than to an inferior canon, who might be appointed temporary warden, or, what was frequently the case, to a stipendiary priest, removable at pleasure. And Tiltey church in Essex being conventual as well as parochial, I, on the same principle, supposed that the abbat, not the celebrant, was seated in the Eastern stall at the celebration of mass, or the performance of any other branch of religious worship. This will, I conceive, apply

with equal weight to the many churches regularly frequented by the provosts of colleges and masters of hospitals; as were the churches of Strood near Rochester, of Milton by Gravesend, and of Cotherstock in Northamptonshire [1].

Had the central been uniformly the more elevated, or the more ornamented stall, I should not have had a doubt of Mr. Clarke's having justly appropriated the triple seats, the authority cited by him being a Roman missal, that directs the priest to be always seated between the deacon and sub-deacon. The missal to which he refers is, it is true, of the year 1638; but I am not yet apprised of there being any missal or ritual, having the sanction of the Roman pontiff, which enjoins or countenances the priest's being placed above or below a clergyman of an inferior class. If the print in Picart's Ceremonies, which seems to have escaped the attention of Mr. Clarke, or was not seen in as strong a light as it appeared to me, is a true representation of the Pope's chapel, the celebrant priest is there seated as the rubric directs [2]; and I think we may reasonably infer, that it was the design of the council of Trent, whose decrees were dictated by the Papal legates, to correct all deviations from the orders and usages of the bishops of Rome, who ever strenuously contended, that the model both of doctrine and worship was to be given by what they arrogantly styled the infallible mother

[1] Bridges, vol. II. pp. 438, 840. On the South side of the altar, under old Gothic arches, are four seats one above the other. William Wyntringham, provost of this collegiate chantry, by his will, dated August 8, 1415, directed his body to be buried near the lavatory, on the South side the chancel of St. Andrew's church at Cotherstock. And on the South side the chancel near the altar steps, is an oblong grey stone, on which is, in brass, the portrait of the provost, in his habit, under an arch or stall, with a pyramid above, and spikes on each side, standing on a pedestal with steps.

[2] *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 300.

church,

church, and to be closely followed by all its adherents. The attempt in the branch of the ritual under review did not, it is manifest, succeed in France. The queries proposed by Father Le Brun betray a glaring proof of a want of uniformity; and it would be no difficult task to shew, that the Gallican church, both in a public and private manner, rejected fundry articles which relate to ecclesiastical ceremonies and discipline.

If there had been only one stall fixed in chancels at a suitable distance from the Epistle, or South horn of the altar, I might likewise have readily acquiesced in the notion of its being intended for the priest; and the greater stateliness there was in its form, the stronger bias I should have had to the opinion; because there is undeniable evidence—that to the abbey of Westminster Edward the Confessor presented the coronation chair of the kings of Scotland, for the use of the celebrating priest before the shrine of the Royal Confessor [1].—that, as Mr. Clarke mentions, there is at the Chartreux of Dijon a large antient chair, magnificently carved, for seating the priest during the epistle; and (which I must beg leave to repeat as what seems to me to be nearly decisive of the point in question)—that, in the pope's chapel at Rome, there is a

[1] Such was king Edward's avowed purpose in giving this chair*, and not, as Mr. Clarke is inclined to imagine, for the use of the abbat, unless he was the celebrant at mass. But, in the abbey church of Peterborough, there was on the South side of the altar a chair for the sole use of the abbat. "The table (of the antient high altar) was a spacious free-stone, many years ago removed from its place, and now lying in the adjoining steps. It is twelve feet two inches long, and in breadth four feet eight inches. In the place of it was set a table of wood, at the South end of which stood the abbat's chair of stone, said to be the model of St. Peter's chair, which continued some years after." Bridges, Hist. vol. II: p. 567.

* Liber contrarotulat. p. 60. Walsingham Ypodig. Neustria, p. 485.

most superb chair for the priest, with no other than two low stools placed at his feet for his assistants. Nor can it be a subject of surprize, that so pompous a seat should be provided for a priest of the church of Rome, if we reflect what an exalted character he is supposed by that church to sustain, whilst an officiant at mass [*m*].

[*m*] Alanus de Rupe, a Dominican monk, scruples not to raise the power of the priest above that of God himself; alledging, that God spent a whole week in creating the world, and disposing it into proper order; whereas a priest, every time he says mass, with a word or two produces not a mere creature, but the supreme uncreated Being himself, the origin of all things: a citation of Keyser in his Travels (vol. I. p. 414), after relating that, about the beginning of this century, a priest was hanged at Milan for celebrating mass before he had received his bull of ordination, though it was upon the road from Rome; the thumbs with the fore and middle finger of both the hands, between which at the elevation he had held the host, being first burnt. In 1463, Simon Harrison, in the habit of a Dominican frier, was apprehended by the domestics of archbishop Bourchier, on a suspicion of having celebrated mass in Lambeth church, without being in priest's orders. When examined by the convocation assembled at St. Paul's (July 16), he confessed that he had committed idolatry, having for a long time performed mass, though he was only an acolyth (Wilkins' Concil. vol. III p. 585). He was delivered for punishment to the bishop of Winchester, and the sentence passed on him is probably entered in the bishop's register, or in the consistorial acts of that diocese.

XXV. *Some Remarks on the European Names of Chessmen, in a Letter from Francis Douce, Esq. to the Rev. Mr. Brand, Secretary.*

Read June 20, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I Have to request you will present to the Society of Antiquaries the following observations relating to *Chess*, which may be considered as supplementary to those already communicated by our worthy member, the honourable Daines Barrington [a].

It is not my design to enter upon a discussion concerning the origin of this famous game. It has been already very ably done by others, especially by our countryman Dr. Hyde; yet I shall avail myself of this opportunity of mentioning the latest, and perhaps the most satisfactory opinion upon this subject, for which we are indebted to the labours of that accomplished scholar Sir William Jones. He has informed us, that chess was invented by the Hindoos, from the testimony of the Persians, who unanimously agree, that it was imported from the West of India in the sixth century, and immemorially known in Hindostan by the name of *Chaturanga*, or the four members of an army, viz. elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers.

[a] *Archæologia*, vol. IX. p. 16.

By a natural corruption of the pure Shanſcrit word, it was changed by the old Perſians into *Chatrang*; but the Arabs, who ſoon after took poſſeſſion of their country, had neither the initial or final letter of that word in their alphabet, and confequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way preſently into modern Perſian, and at length into the dialects of India, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned; and thus has a very ſignificant word in the ſacred language of the Bramins been transformed by ſucceſſive changes into *Axedrez*, *Scacchi*, *Echecs*, *Chefs*. The learned writer is convinced that the ſimple game, as now played in Europe and Aſia, was invented by a ſingle effort of ſome great genius, and not completed by gradual improvements. He then informs us, that no account of the game has hitherto been diſcovered in the clafſical writings of the Bramins, though it is confidently aſſerted, that Shanſcrit books on Chefs exiſt, and proceeds to deſcribe a very ancient Indian game of the ſame kind, but more complex, and, in his opinion, more modern, than the ſimple cheſs of the Perſians [b].

The more immediate object of the preſent communication is to bring under one point of view, the various opinions concerning the *European names* of the cheſs-men, to reconcile ſome of theſe, and to correct others.

I have not hitherto been able to diſcover any difference in the appellation of the principal piece; by all the writers who have mentioned the game, it is uniformly ſtyled the KING.

[b] *Aſiatic Researches, or Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted in Bengal for enquiring into the Hiſtory and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Aſia.* Calcutta, 1788, 1790, 4to. vol. II. p. 159.

With

With respect to the piece next in rank, and now I believe universally called the QUEEN, (except, perhaps, in Poland and Russia, where, according to Dr. Hyde, it is likewise called the *Old Woman*, or *Nurse*) [c] it is certain that the French, and after them the English, during the middle ages, adopted a very different name, viz. *Fierce*, *Fierges*, *Feers*.

Fols chevaliers *fierges* ne ros. Roman de la Rose, MS.

Li Badrains trait sa *fierce* por son paon garder. Rom. de Cassamus MS.

She stale on me and toke my *feers*,

And whan I sawe my *feers* away,

Alas, I couthe no lenger play!

CHAUCER, Dream of Love.

It is agreed that the term is borrowed from the Eastern word *Pherz*, which means a counsellor or general of an army; for it is well known, that the game, however since corrupted, was originally a military one, and it is proper to make this remark now, as it will apply in discussing the changes of other pieces. The military spirit of the Asiatic game is still preserved in the method of laying, but the warlike characters of the actors have been almost entirely converted into those composing the principal classes of a well-regulated society, such as kings, queens, knights, bishops, fools, and peasants.

Unless the similarity in sound between the words *Pherz*, and *Vierge*, occasioned the introduction of the latter term among the Europeans, it is difficult to account for it; and it is farther probable, that the mere sound of the word might have given rise to the whole change in the game; for the extravagant veneration of the times towards the Holy Virgin, would naturally lead to the introduction of a queen, and the

[c] Hyde de ludis Orientalibus. Oxon. 1694, 12mo. p. 77.

rest followed of course. In an ancient Latin poem, hereafter more particularly mentioned, the queen is called *Virgo*.

Monsieur Freret, after remarking that the move of this piece among the Easterns is only from square to square, observes, that the romantic spirit of the times disdained this very contracted motion, as too much resembling the slavery of the Asiatic females, and contrary to the privileges enjoyed by those of Europe, on which account they rendered it as free as possible, by making it the most important of all the pieces [*d*]. Although the title of *queen* cannot be traced so far back as that of *ferce*, it is of considerable antiquity, as it is to be met with in French manuscripts of the thirteenth century; and in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a collection of stories compiled about the beginning of the thirteenth century, this piece is called *regina* [*e*]. I believe it is not possible to trace the term *fers* in the English language beyond the time of Chaucer. In the reign of Henry VII. the piece was called *queen*, as appears from the following passage in the *Vulgaria* of W. Horman, printed at London, 1519; "we shulde have II kyngis, and II *quyens*, IIII alfyns, IIII knyghtis, IIII rokis, and XVI paunys," and indeed it was called so before this time, as appears from Caxton's *Game of Chesh*.

The BISHOP was, by the English writers before cited, called *Alphyn*, *Awfyn*, and *Alfin*; by the old French romancers, *Aufin*. Hyde says that the Spaniards, who borrowed many words from the Moors, formed the word *Alfil* from the Arabic *fil*, the name of this piece on the Eastern chess-board, which

[*d*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres, tom. V.

[*e*] *Gesta Romanorum cum applicationibus moralisatis & mysticis*, sine anno aut loco. Folio. cap. CLXVI. The Queen is likewise called *Virgo* in a work of uncertain date, cited p. 404.

signifies

signifies an elephant; and that Jacobus de Cessolis, who wrote his treatise on Chess in the thirteenth century, adopted this word [*f*]; and from him the above English and French terms originated. What was the shape of the piece at this time, will probably never appear. The present Spanish and Italian chess terms, *Alfieres* and *Afiere*, or *Alfino*, although they signify a *standard-bearer*, are evidently from the same source; indeed there is hardly an end to the chace after this word, which leads one through a labyrinth of conjectures, and presents itself under the various forms of *fil*, *Afil*, *Alfin*, Ἐλφινος, Δελφινος, Ἐλεφας, the Hebrew *eleph*, &c. Damiano, whose book on chess was printed in 1524, calls it *Delfino*, *Afil*, and *Alfiro*, and gives a cut of it, as does likewise the Italian translator of Ruy Lopez in 1584. In both these representations it resembles an urn.

The French at a very early period called this piece *Fol*. It is easy to trace this word as a Chess term from the original *fil*. It occurs in the Roman de la Rose, and in a manuscript of the Roman du vœu du Paon, where it is likewise called *Aufin*.

C'est droite compaignie avec le *fol* cuidier. Roman du Vœu du Paon.
I cele son *Aufin* quel cuide conquerer. Ibid.

From this it is probable that the antient term was still retained even after the change in the form of the piece took place. To account for this change is no difficult matter, when it is considered what a favourite personage the fool was in those times. Kings and queens seldom appeared without their fools; and this made the satyrical Regnier say,

Or ce n'est point pour estre élevé de fortune
Aux sages comme aux fous c'est chose assez commune

[*f*] De ludis oriental. p. 95.

Elle avance un chacun sans raison & sans choix.

Les fous sont aux *echecs* les plus proches des Rois.

Sat. XIV.

A farther proof, that the figure of a fool constituted one of the pieces on the antient French chess-board, occurs in a curious spiritual romance intitled "*Le pelerin de vie humaine*." It was composed in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by William de Guileville, a Cistercian monk, in French rhyme, and at the instance of Jeanne de Laval, queen of Sicily, rendered into prose by Jean Gallopez, a priest at Angiers. In this book the author has described the chess king at the head of his pieces attacking and undermining the foundations of a church. In an edition of the translation printed in 1504, there is a cut of a chess-board with a fool among the pieces. The French yet retain this name, and I have seen French and German chess-men, among which this piece has occurred.

I have not been able to discover when this piece was first called an *Archer*, or for what reason. Rabelais, in his allegorical description of the game, has so termed it, but, perhaps, with as much licence as Colonna, the author of *Poliphilo*, whom Rabelais copied, has called it the *Secretary*; and yet may not this circumstance have given occasion to another change? Archers were formerly the body-guards of monarchs, and might have been thought by some more proper personages in the game of chess than fools, especially if they were inclined to give it a military turn. It is also to be observed, that Vida in his poem on chess, which was, I believe, written a little before the celebrated work of Rabelais, describes this piece as an archer; and Beale, who published a translation of Biochimios's Royal Game of Chess-play in 1656, makes the bishop and archer the same, with a cloven head.

It

It is perhaps impossible to trace the first appearance of this piece with a forked or cloven head. It is represented something in this manner in Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Cessolis, but his rook is given as still more so. I observe that the English and Danes alone, in modern times, called it the *Bishop*, and the first mention of this term that I have met with, in England, is in Saul's famous game of Chess-play, originally published in 1640, who says the game resembles a well-composed commonwealth, the bishop representing the clergy, "with high cloven heads like a bishop's miter."

Hyde asserts, that the Europeans, not regarding the true design of the game, improperly placed the bishop after the queen [g]; but he has not, upon this occasion been attentive to dates and changes; for it has been shewn, that the bishop was not antiently so called in England, nor has he adduced any proofs that it was so termed by any other people in Europe; nevertheless there are strong reasons to suppose, that at a very early period the French had such a piece upon their chess-board; for, in the Roman d'Alexandre, one of the most antient poems in the French language, there is a description of a chess-board, in which it is said,

Roy, fierce, chevalier, Auffin, roc, & cornu,
Furent fet de saphir.

And in a collection of *jeux-partis*, or games at chess, preserved among the Cotton manuscripts [b], the same piece is thus mentioned:

Al neofime vient avant li cornuz
Si li mostre les corns aguz.

[g] De ludis oriental. p. 77.

[b] Cleopat. B. IX.

I have not been able to find, after the most diligent search, any other example of this word, nor does it occur in any of the French glossaries; it is however certain, that *Cornua* was used in the middle ages for a mitre, and *Cornutus* for a bishop, which latter word to modern ears may sound a little ambiguous; but it is to be considered, that the celibacy of this dignified character must in those days have done away the possibility of misconstruction. Whether the *Cornu* formed an additional piece in the antient European game, or whether the term was synonymous with the *Alfin*, is not quite clear. There is, however, some reason to believe, that the *Alfin*, the *Cornu*, and the *Bishop*, were in fact the same; for, in a poem intitled "De Vetula," commonly ascribed to Ovid, but, with more probability, supposed to have been written during the middle ages by a monk named Pamphilus Maurilianus [i], there is a description of the game of chess, wherein the author compares the chess-men to the planets in the following manner:

Rex est sol, pedes est Saturnus, Mars quoque miles,
Regia Virgo Venus, *Alpinus Episcopus* ipse est,
Juppiter et Roccus discurrens Luna.

In a very old Latin poem upon chess, printed by Dr. Hyde [k] from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, the piece next the king is termed *Calvus*, and, if this denotes a monk with a shaven crown, it is another very early instance of the introduction of priests among the chess-men.

The Germans call this piece the *bound*, or the *runner*; the Russians and Swedes the *elephant*; and the Poles the *priest*.

[i] Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. I. 276, & Biblioth. med. & infimæ Latinitatis, V. 556.

[k] De ludis oriental. p. 179.

Dr. Hyde, in his description of what are usually called Charlemagne's chefs-men in the treasury of St. Denis [1], makes it to be an *archer*, but these men cannot be very ancient, if, as he says, the Pawns carry muskets on their shoulders, a circumstance rather doubtful from a copy of one of them taken by Mr. Twiss [m], which has not at present this weapon; it is not however improbable, that it may have been broken off by frequent handling. I endeavoured to ascertain this fact in the year 1791, but the men were not to be found.

The KNIGHT has been always so called upon the French and English chefs boards. It is probable that he was represented in the earliest times as mounted on his charger; Vida has so described this piece, and hence in modern times it has been simply termed the *horse*, and so represented. The Spaniards and Italians have adopted both those names, but give it the form of a horse's head. With us it is not only represented as a horse's head, in which case it is usually called the *Horse*, but with a slanting top, when it is termed the knight. Saul, in 1640, describes the knights as having "heads cutte a flaunte, as though they wore a feather or plume at their helmet," but I do not think he has hit the mark; it most probably has reference to a square kind of helmet, antiently worn by knights [n], and which would be considered as a very good symbol of knighthood. These pieces on the European chefs board denoted the nobility; among Charlemagne's men they have been converted into *Centaurs*. The Germans, from the nature of their motion on

[1] De ludis oriental. p. 133.

[m] Chefs. 1787, 8vo. p. 3. The figure of this Pawn was not published with the book.

[n] See a representation of such a helmet in Grose's Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons, Plate IX. Nos. 6, 10, 11.

the board, call them *Leapers*; among the Poles and Danes they are termed *Knights*, and among the Russians *Horses*.

The origin of our Rook is certainly to be sought for in the old French term *Roc*, or, as it is sometimes written in ancient manuscript poems, *Ros*. I do not conceive, as some have done, that this French word denoted upon this occasion a *rock* or *fortress*, but that it was immediately borrowed, together with the Spanish and Italian terms, from *Ruc*, the Eastern name of this piece.

It is indeed difficult to say what the original form of it was on the European chess-board; the oldest we know of is that represented in Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Cessolis; it is likewise to be found under the same shape in books of heraldry under the name of Chess-rook [e].

In Staninfield church in Suffolk is a font made in the reign of Henry VII. with the arms of the Rookwoods, by whom the church was built. These arms are six Chess rooks of the following shape.



On other monuments, of a more modern date, they appear thus:



Both these figures very much resemble the Rook in Caxton's book. Dr. Hyde thinks that its forked head is expressive of the two hunches upon the back of the *Dromedary*, under which figure it occurs upon the Eastern chess-board,

[e] See Gwillim's *Display of Heraldrie*, 1632, folio, p. 321.

and

and he has given representations of the Turkish chess-men, in which this piece exactly resembles that of Caxton [p]; but a difficulty arises in ascertaining whether the most antient Eastern Ruc was represented as a Dromedary, which must be proved before Dr. Hyde's opinion can be adopted. Monf. D'Herbelot informs us, that *Rokb* in the Persian language signifies a valiant hero seeking after military adventures, in which character, he says, it was introduced into the game of chess [q]. Every body knows what has been related in that admirable collection of stories, The Arabian Nights Entertainments, of a wonderful bird called the *Roc*, whose immense size is said to darken the sun. An account of this fictitious bird is also given by Marco Paulo, the Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century [r]; but it is needless to prosecute this enquiry any farther, after Sir William Jones has informed us, that the Rook is to be deduced from *Ror'b* of the old Hindoo game of chess, which was an armed chariot; this, he says, the Persians changed into *Rokb*, of which word he adds "the etymology has in vain been sought for [s]."

I conceive that our term *Castle*, as applied to this piece, is of a very modern date, and that, with the French *Tour*, it originated from its shape. It is so represented in the early Italian dissertations on the game although uniformly called *il Roccho*. Some careless writers confounding this term, which is evidently from the same source as the old French *Roc*, with *Rocca*, a *fortress*, have increased the mistake by

[p] De ludis oriental. pp. 79, 133.

[q] Bibliothèque Orientale, fol. 1697, p. 718.

[r] Paulus Venetus de Regionibus Orientalibus. Brandenburg, 1671, 4to. Lib. III. cap. 40.

[s] Asiatic Researches, p. 161.

tracing a supposed connexion between a *castle* and a *fortress*, which has given rise to a multitude of conjectures. It is probable, that the European form of the castle was copied in part from some antient Indian piece with the *Elephant and Castle* on his back. It is thus described by Vida; and whilst the French, Spaniards, English, and Italians, have retained the *tower* only, the Danes and Germans have adopted the *elephant* without the *castle*, by the former of which names it is also called by them. In the reign of Charles I. Saul informs us, that the Rook was represented with a round buttoned cap on its head; he stupidly derives the term from the Latin *Rus*; "which Rookes," says he, "standing for the yeomanry, resemble a good farmer, or a plain (though rich) freeholder." From such a specimen, it is presumed, that no more quotations from this writer will be wished for.

By the Poles this piece is also termed the *Rook*; the Russians make it a *boat*, or rather its *keel*. Dr. Hyde supposes this to be from the length or velocity of its motion [1], which, he says, in the Eastern chess-board originated from the manner in which the dromedary travels. The Swedes, according to the same author, call it the *leaper*, and have made it change places with the Bishop. Among Charlemagne's pieces it is termed the *Elephant*.

It remains only to notice the PAWNS. These appear to have been always so called among ourselves, and by the French in the middle ages *paon*, *paounet*, *paonnez*, *paonniers*, *poons*, *poannes*, and *pionnes* [2]. Dr. Hyde, who does not seem to be acquainted with this more antient French term, derives our Pawn from the Spanish *peon*, or French *pion*, which he thinks a contraction of *espion*, a *spy*, or *peton*, a *footman*; in which

[1] De ludis oriental. p. 78.

[2] In the Romance of the Rose they are called "Garçons."

he is evidently mistaken [*u*]. They are all, probably, from *pedones*, a barbarous Latin term for *foot-soldiers*, which in this game were represented by the Pawns. By the Italians they are called *pedone*, by the Spaniards *peones*. The Russians and Poles make them also *foot-soldiers*. The Germans, Danes, and Swedes, have converted them into *peasants*.

Much confusion has arisen from the arbitrary changes of the names as well as forms of the chefs-men by different nations. Some have retained the forms whilst they have altered the names, and others the names after having changed the forms. Thus it has happened with cards; we retain the Spanish terms of Clubs and Spades, whilst we have adopted the French suits.

The writers of the middle ages in speaking of the chefs-men universally style them *familia*. Ducange cites a proclamation issued at Paris in 1320, with these words: "Item unum scaccarium de jaspide & calfidonio cum *familia* [*x*]." In Pope Innocent's "Moralitas de Scaccario," the same term occurs [*y*]; and in the wardrobe account of Edward I. printed by this society, are the following articles, "Una *familia* pro scaccario de jaspide et cristallo, in uno coffro." "Una *familia* de ebore pro ludendo ad scaccarium [*z*]." The men were generally white and black, and sometimes red and black.

I do not think that any information, beyond the names of the chefs-men, is to be collected from Jacobus de Cessolis, or his translator Caxton. The work has little or nothing relating to the game itself, but is a dull moralization, or ra-

[*u*] De ludis oriental. p. 79.

[*x*] Glossarium med. & infimæ Latinitatis, tom. VI. p. 169.

[*y*] Chefs. 1789, vol. II. p. 4.

[*z*] Ibid. pp. 350, 351.

ther an allegory of human affairs, assimilated in a very clumsy manner to the game of chess ; and therefore the description of the men is not to be considered as real. It was the fashion in those times to moralise every thing ; thus we have a moralization of that licentious poem, *The Romance of the Rose* ; and to the *Tales in the Gesta Romanorum*, of which Mr. Warton has given a correct analysis in his *History of English Poetry*, moralizations are likewise added.

I shall conclude with a wish, that the foregoing observations may be in any degree serviceable or acceptable to those who may interest themselves in the most excellent game that the wit of man has yet devised. The subject is certainly difficult, and I am not without apprehension, that future researches may convict me of many errors. To have drawn forth such a conviction may nevertheless have its use ; and it should be remembered, that in speculative enquiries like the present, the truth is seldom attained until many visionary systems have been destroyed.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

28th April, 1793.

FRANCIS DOUCE.





Antient Cup from Glaptonbury.

XXVI. *Observations on an antient Cup formerly belonging to the Abbey of Glastonbury. By the Rev. John Milner, M. A. F.S.A. in a Letter to Mr. Gough.*

Read February 27, 1794.

SIR,

Winchester, Feb. 1, 1793.

THIS antient cup *, with a handle and cover to it, exactly in the form of a modern tankard, is of oak, and has been lackered over, especially in the inside, with a strong varnish, which must have greatly contributed to its preservation. It is indeed as perfect as when it first came out of the workman's hands, except the pegs mentioned below the joint, and that unite the cover with the handle, which appears to have been broken, and afterwards replaced by an artist of inferior skill. The contents of the cup are just two quarts of ale measure, and there were originally eight pegs, placed one above another, in the inside, which divided the contained liquor into equal quantities of half a pint each. The four uppermost of these pegs remain, and the holes are discernible from which the remaining four have fallen. On the lid is carved the Crucifixion, with the figure of the

• PL. XVIII.

G g g 2

Blessed

Blessed Virgin Mary on the right hand of our Saviour, and that of St. John on his left, together with a star over each of them, and a cherub on either side. The knob on the handle, which was intended for the purpose of raising up the cover, represents a bunch of grapes. Round the body of the cup itself are carved the twelve Apostles, whose names, in capital letters, are inscribed on labels under their respective figures. Each of them holds in his hands an open book, except St. Peter, who bears a key, St. John, who supports a chalice, and Judas Iscariot, who grasps at a purse. Beneath the labels of the Apostles are seen birds, beasts, and full-blown flowers of different kinds; and under these again serpents, which, by two and two, joining their heads together, produce the forms of strange monsters; but, in all these last-mentioned ornaments, I can discover no consistent meaning, and therefore I attribute them to the mere fancy of the artist. The three feet on which the cup stands, and which descend an inch below the body of it, consist of as many figures of lions couchant, which figures of lions were, perhaps, so often adopted by our ancestors, as the supporters of thrones, statues, monuments, and a variety of other things, in consequence of their having been employed for the same purpose, in the throne of Solomon, as we learn in the first book of Kings x. 19, 20.

Having described this curious cup, I shall now proceed to give the best account I have been able to collect of its history, its date, and its original use.

The substance of its history is furnished by the noble lord to whom it belongs, in a letter to the author, dated June 10, 1793, of which the following is an extract: "This cup is said to have been brought to Wardour castle from the antient abbey of Glastonbury, and is one of the very few
" things

“ things which were saved at the destruction of that antient
“ structure, which Blanch lady Arundell so nobly defended
“ in the absence of her husband. It is mentioned, in one of
“ the old inventories of the effects belonging to the castle, as
“ coming from Glastonbury abbey, and probably was much
“ esteemed, as such care was taken of it in preference to
“ things possibly of greater value.” It may not be improper
to add a few observations to this account of the present antique, which appear to be more or less connected with its history.

Glastonbury abbey, though inferior to St. Alban's in point of rank [a], was superior to that and all our other antient religious establishments, for its antiquity and the veneration in which it was held. Whether Joseph of Arimathea, as our most learned writers maintain [b], or some other pious pilgrim of the name of Joseph, was its founder, certain it is, that in the reign of Henry II. it was not only universally admitted to have been “ the fountain and origin of the Christian religion in this island,” but also its first establishment was carried up to the immediate disciples of Christ; for both these points are expressly declared by the aforesaid prince, in a charter [c] which he granted for rebuilding that abbey,

[a] This precedency of St. Alban's before all the other abbeys in England was appointed by Adrian IV. in 1154. See Stevens's *Monasticon*, vol. I. p. 27. This pope, whose original name was Nicholas Breakspear, is generally said to have been a monk of St. Alban's. Had this been so, it is strange that Matthew Paris, who lived so near the time, and who was himself a religious of the same abbey, should have described him as a person who was merely born on the estates of the monastery, “ De territorio Sancti Albani procreatus ” See Mat. Paris, ad an. 1154.

[b] Godwin de Præful. Angl. Usher Primord. Camden, Somersetshire, &c.

[c] See the said charter in Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl. Ang.* p. 3. Appendix to Stevens's *Monasticon*, II. p. 112.

when it had been burnt down; after having caused, as he says, the original charters and other documents relating to antiquity to be laid before him. We learn from the same charter, and from different writers, that Glastonbury was generally called *The Mother of Saints*, and *The Tomb of Saints*, from the number of persons renowned for their sanctity who had there been educated or interred. It was, no doubt, owing to the peculiar veneration in which the church of Glastonbury was held at the time of the Saxon invasion, that, though it was stripped of its revenues, it escaped the total destruction which fell upon all other religious foundations, which came under the power of our Pagan ancestors [d]. It was reserved, however, for the pious prince Ina to become properly its second founder; and, for that great patron of monks, Edgar, to raise it to that superior degree of magnificence, which it continued to support (as those stupendous and beautiful ruins, now a prey to the most sordid avarice, still testify) down to the time of the destruction of abbeys. At that period it was distinguished by the conscientious firmness of its abbot Richard Whiting, who, refusing to countenance that sacrilegious farce which the commissioners of Cromwell were every where playing, in forcing the monks to make a *voluntary* surrender of their property [e], was suddenly seized upon at the abbey gate [f], and, with his two confidential monks, dragged to the famous Tor, which overlooks the monastery, and where a chapel under the name of St. Michael then stood, and there was executed, together with them, to the terror of their brethren.

[d] See the abovementioned charter. Also a letter of St. Augustine to St. Gregory, cited by Usher. Also *Antiq. Glaston.* apud Malmsh.

[e] See Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 164.

[f] *Ibid.*

It is natural to suppose, that at the destruction of the monasteries their inhabitants should intrust such valuable or curious effects, as, not consisting of the precious metals, had escaped the rapine of the commissioners, to their friends in the neighbourhood, in hopes of better times. And it is more than possible, that, by this means, the present cup should have got into the possession of the Arundel family, who are known not to have given into the prevailing changes in religion, one branch of which family was then settled at Wardour.

But if we do not distinctly know by what means the present cup was saved at the dissolution of abbeys, we are not ignorant to whom we are indebted for the preservation of it in the great rebellion. The person in question we have heard was Blanch, lady Arundel, the fifth daughter of Edward Somerset, marquis of Worcester, the firm and powerful friend of Charles I. in his distress, and the ancestor of the present duke of Beaufort. This lady Blanch, as we learn from the *Mercurius Rusticus* [g], being summoned May 2, 1633, by Sir Edward Hungerford, the rebel commander in the West, and colonel Strode, with an army of 1300 men, to surrender the plate belonging to the family, and to permit the castle to be searched for this purpose, refused to comply; and, though she had but 25 fighting men in garrison, she stood a siege of nine days, during seven of which the castle was cannonaded, while two different mines, in the interim, were sprung under it. At length, the ammunition of the garrison being spent, this lady surrendered her castle upon honourable terms [h];

[g] Written by Bruno Ryves, chaplain to king Charles I. afterwards dean of Windsor. Some few circumstances, however, in the present account of the siege, are gathered from traditions in the family.

[h] The original of the capitulation is still preserved at Wardour.

one article of which was, that all the effects in it should be preserved for the proprietors, and for this purpose it was agreed, that two inventories of the same should be made out, one of them to be preserved by the lady, and the other by Sir Edward Hungerford. These conditions, however, being shamefully violated by the rebels, lady Arundell took an opportunity of withdrawing certain articles of her property, and amongst the rest the cup before us, which she valued so much, that, retiring to Winchester, at the death of her husband, she took this cup along with her, and kept it in her possession as long as she lived. The absence of lord Arundell, during the aforesaid siege, was occasioned by his attendance on the king at Oxford, in whose service he raised a regiment of horse. Returning, however, some time afterwards into the West, and finding himself too weak to retake his castle from the rebels, he contrived to spring a mine under it, and thus reduced that magnificent structure to the ruinous state in which it is seen at the present day.

To judge of the time when the cup was made, it is proper to attend to the style of the ornamental carvings about it, to the particular figures of the Apostles, and to the form of the characters in which their names are inscribed. In the first place then it is observable, that each of these figures is placed under a circular arch, which being indented in the under part, in a zig-zag manner, and surmounted with a kind of tortuous moulding, seems to bespeak a true Saxon origin. In the second place, all the Apostles are here represented with long hair; and all of them, except St. John and St. James the Less, who are supposed to have been called to the Apostleship in their early youth, appear with long beards. Now, I take long hair and long beards, especially amongst ecclesiastical personages, to have been much more common
in

in the time of the Saxons than after the Norman invasion. The dresses also, in my opinion, favour much more of the former than of the latter period. Certain it is, that Pere Montfaucon gives us [i], from the antient portail of St. Germain des Prez, certain figures of the Apostles, which, in their beards, hair, and dresses, are not like those under consideration. These figures he supposes to belong to the eighth or ninth century. There is also a negative argument drawn from these figures, which weighs much with me in favour of the high antiquity of the cup; namely, that the Apostles are all represented without their distinctive marks, except the three, whose proper emblems are deduced from the Scripture itself [k]. Now, as I take the generality of the received emblems of the saints to have been invented about the eleventh or the twelfth century [l], so I believe it will be difficult to find a series of Apostles painted or carved, during the last five or six hundred years, in which, for example, St. Andrew is not seen with his Burgundy cross, St. James the elder with his staff and cockle-shell, St. Simon with his saw, and so of the rest of them. I must not forget another argument in favour of the Saxon origin of the present article, for which I am indebted to the researches of our learned secretary [m], who informs us, that king Edgar, in order to restrain the prevailing habit of drunkenness, which had been introduced among his subjects by the Danes, caused certain pins or pegs to be fixed in the drinking-cups, appointing a punishment

[i] *Antiq. de la Monarchie Française*, tom. I.

[k] For St. Peter's key, see *Matth.* c. xvi. v. 19. For St. John's cup, *Matth.* c. xx. v. 23. For Judas's purse, *John*, c. xii. v. 13.

[l] See the author's "Inquiry concerning the existence and character of St. George," in a letter inscribed to the right hon. President.

[m] See Brand upon Bourne, p. 340.

for those who drank below their proper mark. Now, as so singular, and I will add so ineffectual, a law was not likely to have been long enforced after the time of the prince who framed it, so I think he himself would never have attempted to impose it upon the nation at large, unless they had been in some degree prepared for it, by seeing it already observed in their numerous religious communities.

But the form of the characters in the names of the Apostles will perhaps be thought to furnish the most decisive criterion in the present question. These inscriptions consist entirely of Roman characters, neither of a very elegant, nor of a very rustic form, and are chiefly remarkable for being joined together in such manner that the same line forms part of two letters. At the first sight of these characters every Antiquary will pronounce that they do not belong to any century between the eleventh and the sixteenth. They must at least be coeval with the Conquest, about which time the Roman capitals degenerated into the Gothic, or they cannot be much more antient than the dissolution of abbeys, namely, when the Roman characters began to be resumed. Now, I think it very unlikely, that the rich monks of Glastonbury would have caused a drinking-cup to be made of wood for their use so late as the sixteenth century, much less that it should, in those circumstances, have acquired that respect which the Arundell family, no doubt, derived for it from its original possessors. But, independently of this, I think the form of many of the letters, the frequency of the double letters, and the substitution of the *D* for a *T* in the word *Peter*, have a much greater relation with the reign of an Egbert than that of a Tudor. I mention the reign of Egbert in preference to that of any other Saxon prince, because about his time, by the care of that great patron of literature, Charlemagne,

magne, a great improvement is allowed to have taken place in penmanship, and the form of the letters was brought much nearer than before to the true Roman standard [n]. Such was my own theory of this matter, when meeting with a favourable opportunity of consulting Mr. Aistle on the form of these letters, whom I furnished at the same time with a fac-simile of the most remarkable of them; that eminent judge was pleased to confirm my conjectures, by a letter with which he honoured me, dated *Battersea Rise, December 16, 1793*, of which the following is an extract: "I do not hesitate to deliver it as my opinion, that the characters are antient. They may be as old as the tenth or the eleventh century, if not older. They are similar to those in my register of Hyde abbey, the greatest part of which was written between the years 1028 and 1032. In this register are several rites and ceremonies used in the times of the Saxons. The titles abound in joined and double letters, like those you have sent me. The letters *D* and *T* were synonymous from the times of the Romans until the Norman Conquest, as many inscriptions and manuscripts abundantly prove."

The size of this cup, and the pegs at equal distances in the inside, together with the traditionary account of the family to which it belongs, seem clearly to point out the use for which it was intended, namely, for several persons to drink out of, in stated quantities, on particular occasions. Hence we may safely call this curious antique, a *grace-cup*, *poculum charitatis*, or *waffel-bowl*. Both the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed, as well at their sacrifices as at their feasts, to drink wine out of the same vessel, with certain particular ce-

[n] See Dom. de Vaines, Dictionnaire Diplom. vol. I. p. 446.

ceremonies and forms of speech. On the former occasions, immediately before the slaughter of the victims, the ceremony of *Libatio*, or *lightly tasting* of wine from the *simpulum*, was practised by the Augur, and in succession by the other persons present [6]. At their feasts the cup called ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος, or *boni genii* [7], was handed about by the guests, from one to the other, each of whom invoked this supposed deity at the time of his drinking, which was the same as to wish good fortune to one another. The custom, however, of *wasselling*, strictly so called, or of drinking healths, seems to be of German origin, and to have been introduced into this island, together with the passion itself for drinking [8], by our Saxon ancestors. Every one is acquainted with the celebrated story of Rowena [9], the daughter, or rather the niece, of Hengist, who, in waiting at table on Vortigern, and drinking his health out of the cup she presented to him, won the affections of that weak monarch, and facilitated the future conquests of her countrymen over the Britons. The introduction of Christianity amongst our ancestors did not at all contribute to the abolition of the practice of Wasselling. On the contrary it began to assume a kind of religious aspect; and the Wassel bowl itself, which, in the great monasteries, was placed on the abbot's table [10], at the upper end of the

[6] Pancirolus, Liber rerum deperditarum.

[7] See Erasmi Adagiorum Chil. I. Cent. vi. N° 53. Also Chiliad. II. Cent. iv. N° 74. Also Archæolog. Attic. Lib. VI. sect. 2, c. 4.

[8] "Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum." Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.

[9] See Verstegan, "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," p. 101, who cites Ulitapitus, and other German writers. The substance of this History occurs in Malmesbury. De Gestis Reg. Ang. Lib. I.

[10] Matt. Paris, Hist. Abbat. S. Alban.

refectory,

refectory, or eating-hall, to be circulated amongst the community at his discretion, received the honourable appellation of *Poculum Charitatis*. The liquor with which it was usually filled was wine sweetened and spiced, of which our ancestors were immoderately fond, under the name of *Hippocras*, and sometimes Metheglin, or Mead. This appears from the following curious account of a visit of king Edgar to the abbey of Abingdon, which occurs in the history of the same [t], and which I shall here cite in the original: “ Venit Rex quadam
 “ die ad monasterium, ut ædificiorum structuram per se
 “ ipsum ordinaret; mensusque est omnia fundamenta propria manu, quemadmodum muros erigere decreverat: rogavitque eam abbas in hospitio cum suis prandere. An-
 “ nuit Rex ilico; & contigit adesse sibi non paucos optimatum suorum venientes ex gente Northanimbriorum, qui omnes cum Rege adierunt convivium. Lætatusque est Rex,
 “ & jussit abunde propinare hospitibus *hydromellum*. Quid multa? hauserunt ministri liquorem tota die ad omnem
 “ sufficientiam convivantibus; sed nequivit ipse liquor ex-
 “ hauriri de vase, nisi ad mensuram palmi, gaudentibus Northanhimbris & vesperi cum lætitia recedentibus.”

Leaving the miraculous part of this story out of the question, it appears that this was a true Waffelling bout, and that metheglin was the beverage made use of on the occasion. I have hinted, that in regular communities the practice of Waffelling only obtained, in general, on extraordinary occasions. At those times the fare in other respects was better than usual, and, in particular, a finer kind of bread was provided, which, on this account, was called Waffel bread.

[t] See *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 164.

This is so incontestible, that I am surprized how a late learned author [*u*] should have entered into so long a disquisition concerning the nature of this bread, mention of which frequently occurs in the rules of the hospital of St. Crofs near this city, and that, in the end, he should have derived this name from the *Waffellum*, or *Vessel*, in which he supposes the bread to have been made.

But if the ceremony of Waffelling was performed at stated times, and with due solemnity, in monasteries and other places subject to the rules of strict discipline, the case was far different amongst the common people at their usual parties for drinking. A spirited poet [*x*], in the reign of king John, has given us a lively description of the noisy and tumultuous manner of their Waffelling, or circulating the bowl, with the original cry of *Was beil* [*y*], in the following lines :

“ Jamque vagante scypho, distincto gutture *Was-beil*

“ Ingeminant *Was-beil* : labor est plus perdere vini

“ Quam sitis.”

It is unnecessary to observe, that the term of Waffelling in process of time was made use of to signify a variety of other practices besides that of drinking healths, probably, because these were accompanied with convivial drinking.

[*u*] See the Life of William of Wykeham, by Dr. Louth, p. 75.

[*x*] Camden, who in his Remaines, p. 316, has preserved these verses, calls the author, John Hanvill; Pits “de Illustr. Angl. Script.” p. 266, calls him Joannes Hantivillensis, and says he was a monk of St. Alban’s.

[*y*] Verstegan gives the following etymology of this well known term: “As *was* in our verb of the preterimperfect tense, or preterperfect tense, signifying *have been*, so *was*, being the same verb in the imperative mood, and now pronounced *wax*, is as much as to say *grow*, or become; and *Waes beal*, by corruption of pronunciation, afterwards came to be *Wassail*,” Restitution, p. 10.

In “ The Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household [z], lately published by the Society, we have some account of the ceremony of Waffelling, as it was practised at court, on Twelfth-night, in the reign of Henry VII. From these we learn, that the antient custom of pledging each other out of the same cup had now given place to the more elegant practice of each person having his cup, and that
 “ when the steward came in at the doore with the Wassel,
 “ he was to crie three tymes Wassel, Wassel, Wassel; and
 “ then the chappell (the chaplain) was to answere with a
 “ good songe.”

In the reign of Henry VIII. at the famous interview of the *Camp du Drap d' Or*, I have met with a ceremony which bears a great relation with the practice of Waffelling. In this, not *health*, but *an increase of prosperity* was drunk to our king, with circumstances of the greatest solemnity, by the French heralds and kings at arms. The ceremony is described to have taken place at the feast which the queen of Francis I. gave to Henry: in which, says the writer, in the old French of the tymes, “ Au tiers service y eut Largeffe crie
 “ par les Roys d'armes & héraux, ayant un grand pot d'or
 “ bien riche, et fut crie au nom du Roy d'Angleterre, di-
 “ fant: ‘ Largeffe à tres hault, tres puissant & tres excellent
 “ Prince Henri, par la grace de Dieu, Roy d'Angleterre,
 “ Seigneur d'Ireland, Largeffe, Largeffe.’ Puis viendrent les
 “ officiers d'armes à la salle haulte ou étoit Monsieur le Duc
 “ d'Alençon, & aultres Princes & seigneurs festoyent les
 “ Princes d'Angleterre: & là crie Largeffe, Bretagne Roi
 “ d'Armes. Puis viendrent crier Largeffe au pavillon où

[z] P. 21,

“ estoit

“ estoit le festin et banquet publique, où y avoit grand nombre de gens [a].”

I remain, Sir,

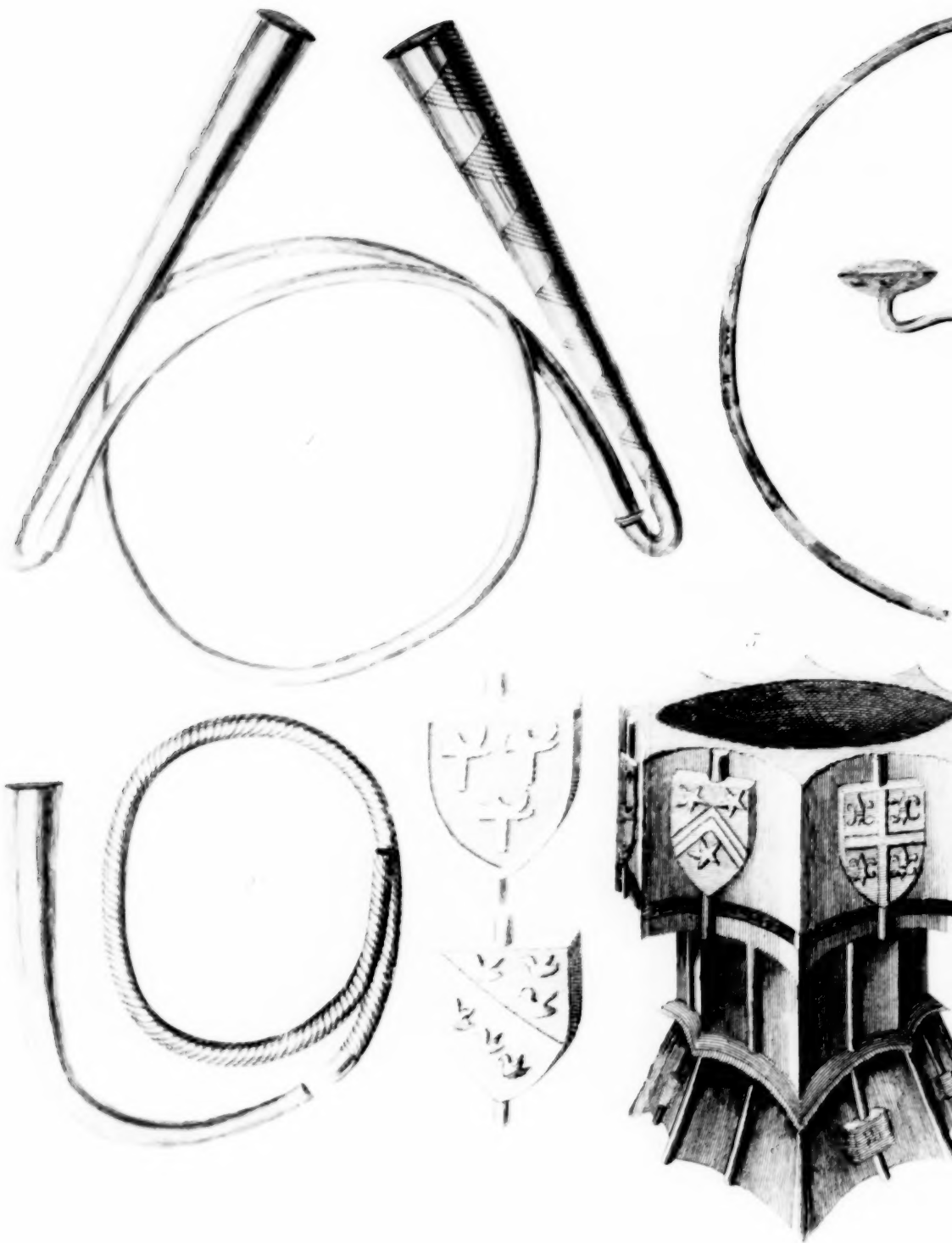
Your faithful humble Servant,

JOHN MILNER.

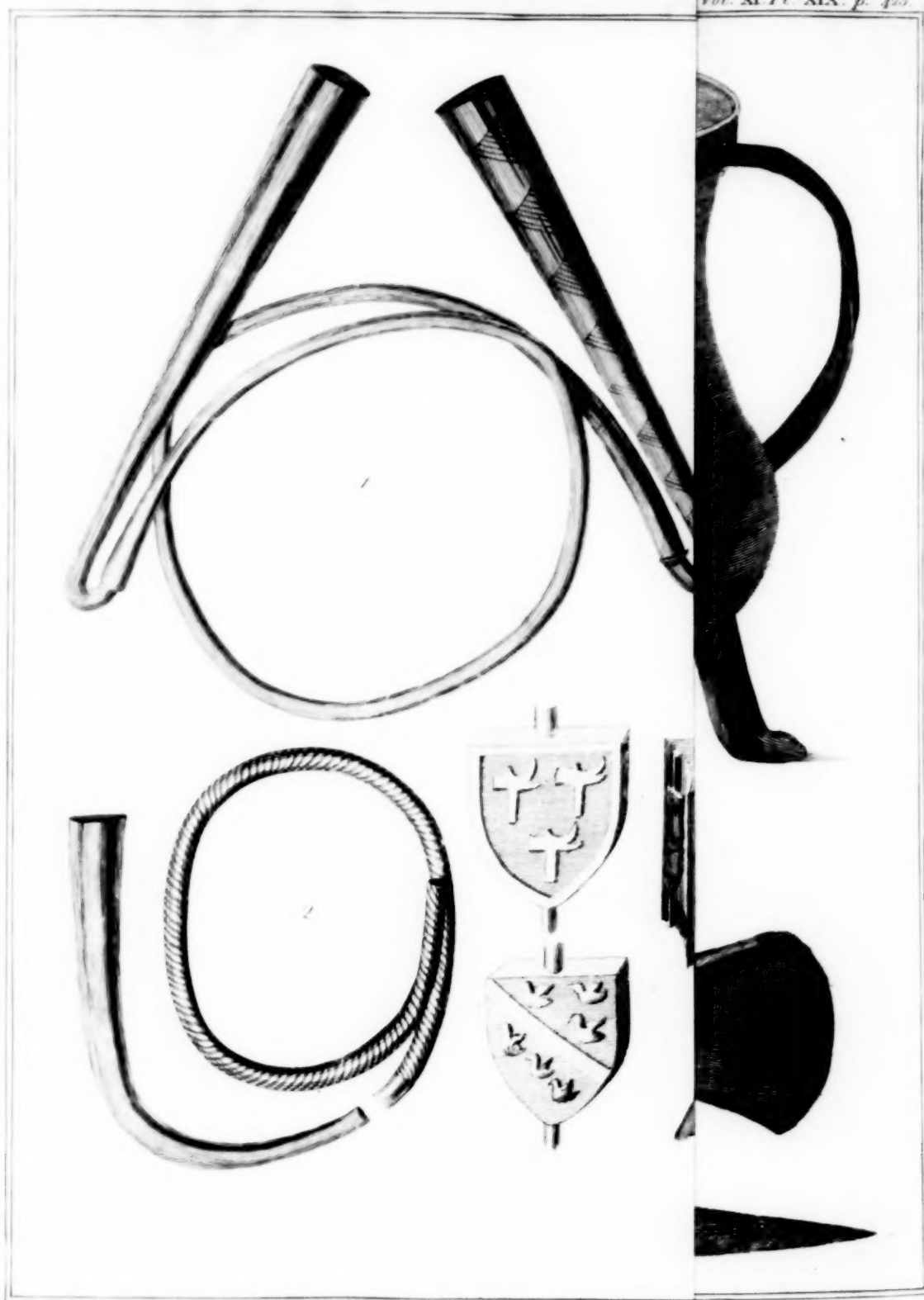
[a] See this account by a contemporary writer, from the papers of Monsieur. Peirese, in Montfaucon's *Monarchie Franç.* vol. IV. p. 173.



APPEN-







A P P E N D I X.

A T A

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

O F

A N T I Q U A R I E S,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

R E S O L V E D,

That such curious communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.







*A Drinking-Horn with a Whistle at the End in the possession of Owen Salisbury Brevintrey,
found two feet under ground in a village in Sweden called, Tinskyger known to be above 200 Years old.*

A P P E N D I X.

Plate XIX.

Fig 1. and 2. are of gold, found in Ireland, and exhibited by Mr. Moleworth, June 7, 1792.

Fig. 3. is a fibula of copper found on the estate of William Lowndes Selby, esq. in the month of June, 1793, in a bed of solid clay at the depth of five feet below the surface of the ground, and by the side of a rivulet not a mile from the town of Winslow, in Buckinghamshire. It is now in the possession of Mr. Grove, of Whitechurch, in that county, and was communicated to the Society by their secretary Mr. Wrighte, November 21, 1793.

Fig. 4. is a brass pot, found, 1789, in cleaning out the medical well at Clotburn, five feet below the earth. The ground is a bog.

Fig. 5. is engraved from a drawing made by major Rooke, 1777, of an antient font at Bolton in Bolland, Yorkshire, of a singular form, and ornamented on each face with the arms of the Pudseys, and the families they intermarried into. At the bottom of the four sides is a brass fillet with an inscription in black letter as follows :

Orate pro asa
pbi pudsey militi &

dnr

utrois

uroris eius ac dñi u' pudsey
obi ca i die

Bolton church was built about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. out of the ruins of Sawley abbey; at which time the font was brought from Barford church in the bishopric of Durham, and placed in Bolton church by one of the Pudseys, whose family had the presentation of that living. The present patron is Christopher Dawson, esq. of Bolton hall.

Fig. 6. is a Scarabæus, exhibited November 29, 1792, by James Deacon, esq. It was dug up in the Isle of Shepy, at the depth of sixty yards, with what Mr. Deacon calls "a red china plate and a piece of gold coin." This plate is most probably a patera, or other vase of Roman pottery; but neither that nor the gold coin is in his possession. Can this have been worn as an amulet or charm? "Plinius lib. XXX. cap. 2. tradit quartanis febribus prodesse Scarabæum, qui pilulas volvit, atque ob id Ægypti magnam partem Scarabæos inter numina colere."

Alex. ab Alexandro, vol. II. p. 746. in notis.
Lugduni Batav. 1673.

The Seal fig. 7. is the property of Thomas Lamb, esq. mayor of Rye. It was found in a gentleman's garden at Winchelsea, and supposed to be a private seal of John, son of Robert Glinde, and a work of the fifteenth century, partly from the form of the letters, and partly from other figures of the demi thips. The inscription is

✠ S : IOH : IS : FILII : ROBTI : GLINDE.
Sigillum Johannis filii Roberti Glinde.

This

This John Glinde seems from the device to have been a native of Winchelsea, or at least a portman and a merchant. The first is indicated by three demi lions passant, conjoined with three demi ships, which are port arms; and the latter, by the scroll, which I take to be a merchant's mark; and from these circumstances I further premise that he had no family arms.

Mr. John Woodd.

Fig. 8. is a brass celt found in the isle of Jersey in 1779, of the original size.

Fig. 9. This old sword or dagger was found in the neighbourhood of Alton castle in Staffordshire, on the estate of the earl of Shrewsbury, which, from the account annexed to Buck's view of it, appears to be a place of great antiquity. The castle, situate between Cheadle and Ashbourne, stands on the point of a rock, which on one side shoots into a narrow and deep valley, and is there nearly perpendicular. On the opposite side of the valley is a hill of steep ascent, nearly flat at the top, of the extent of about fifty or sixty acres, which appears to have been a military station.

This last hill has partly been surrounded by a double foss, of which there are evident marks still left, on that part where the ascent is the least difficult; and the sword was found in cutting a trench about a hundred yards from the outer ditch, at the depth of about a foot and a half in a piece of old pasture ground: but it does not appear that any other articles of antiquity have been discovered in the neighbourhood.

The sword was broken into three parts in digging it up, and has been riveted since. The workman who was employed in doing this at first thought that it was made of cop-

per, but was afterwards of a different opinion, though he cannot ascertain of what other metal it is composed; it has not those qualities which are said to belong to copper, though possibly those qualities may have been destroyed by the instrument lying so long in the earth.

Alveton, Elveton, now Alton, is a castle more antient than the Norman Conquest. In the 22d of Henry II. Bertram de Verdun was lord of it, whose residence it was, and that of the family, till the 3d of Edward II. During the minority of Thomas de Verdun, William Fitz Richard had the care of his estates; and in his accounts we find ten pounds for half a year's maintenance of soldiers and servants in this castle. 7 Richard I. the manor had not less than ten (some say fourteen) villages belonging to it. Male issue failing, it came by marriage to the Furnivals, who held it for two successions; when, by the same means, it came to Thomas Nevil, brother to the earl of Westmoreland; but, he also leaving only a daughter, it passed by her with her other estates to the famous Sir John Talbot, who in right of his wife was lord of this castle and lord Furnival, but afterwards created earl of Shrewsbury, in which family it still remains.

Bertram, son to the noble Norman Verdon,
 Founded the famous abbey of Croxden.
 When Henry the Second was England's king,
 He did performe this very great thing;
 In the yeare one thousand one hundred seventy-six
 Upon this great work he his mind he did fix;
 He dedicated it unto St. Mary,
 Of the order of Bernardine monks to be
 One hundred pounds six shillings and sene pence
 In lands he gave for its defense,

Besides many other great gifts gine
 By persons devout for to gaine heaven,
 Which, in its prosperity were it to be sold,
 Were worth many thousand pounds in gold.

This account was communicated by Mr. Robert Barbor,
 dated Charterhouse, 31 January, 1793.

Pl. XX. exhibits a spur found in Towton field near York.

Motto, "En total amour tout mon coer."

Exhibited November 8, 1792.

Pl. XXI. is a drinking-horn, in the possession of Owen
 Salusbury Brereton, Esq. found two feet under ground in a
 village in Iceland.

To the Rev. J. Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries,
 London.

Read January 23, 1794.

SIR,

AMONG some deeds in my possession that belong
 to his Majesty's Office of Ordnance is one which I
 have the pleasure to transmit to you, and with it a correct
 copy. It is dated the 20th of January in the 30th year of
 the reign of king Henry VIII. and is of that species of in-
 strument which, in office language, is emphatically styled an
Indenture. The king, it seems, had appointed commis-
 sioners under his privy seal to receive from Sir Thomas
 Clifford, the captain or governor of Berwick castle, pos-
 session of the town, with the castle, tower, ordnance, arms,
 and military stores and utensils, and to deliver them into
 the charge of his successor, Sir William Ewer, otherwise
 Ivers; which delivery was performed by their executing an

instrument, of which this is the counterpart. The commissioners were, Sir Christopher Morris at that time master of the ordnance, though not so described in the indenture, Sir Reynold Carnaby, and Robert Collingwood, Lionel Gray, and John Horsley, esquires. And it appears, from an awkward recital of the privy seal, that the delivery of the town, &c. was intended to have taken place on the 11th or 12th day of the month; but, that on account of the absence of Sir Christopher Morris, one of the commissioners, the execution of that part of the commission was deferred until the 20th, a circumstance which the military exactness of the parties did not permit them to pass over in silence.

There is nothing in the instrument that I am aware of, either in its form or subject matter, to gratify the curiosity of an experienced antiquary. At the same time, as it shews the mode of investiture, or act of giving possession in those days to the governors of forfeited places, and contains the names of several pieces of ordnance and military weapons, as also of some implements of household that are now no longer in use, you may, perhaps, deem it not too insignificant for communication. Should you be of that opinion, I request you will do me the honour to lay it before the Society.

I am,

With great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

*Basinghall street,
23d January, 1794.*

ROBERT SMITH.

1539. (Copy).

The Indenture of the Castell of Berwyke, Sir William Ewre,
alias Ivers, Capytayn of the sayd Castell.

THYS Indenture made at the towne of Berwyke-upon
Twede, the 20th daye of the moneth of January, in
the thirti yere of y^r reigne off our foverain lorde kinge Henry
the 8th. bitwene Sir Christopher Moryce and Sir Raynold
Carnaby knightes, Robert Collynwood, Leonell Graye, and
John Horfeley, esquires, commissioners assigned and aucto-
rised by our sayd foverain lorde the king's highnes. That
whereas the king's highnes hath directyd his commis-
syon under his privy seale, by the sayd commissioners bering
date at the pallays off Westmynster the 22d daye of the
moneth of December laste paste, wherin ys containyd the
resoorte of the sayd commissioners to the towne off Berwyke,
at the 11th or 12th daye of the said moneth of January, to
reseave the same towne, castell, and towre of Berwyke, wyth
all the kayes of the lokks of all the gaytes and posterns off
the said toune, castell, and towre, as also all the ordinaunces,
municyons, artillarye, and other habilyments of warre therto
belongynge, of Sir Thomas Clyfford, or his assigns. And to
deliver the said toune, castell, and towre, with all the orde-
naunces, municyons, artillarye, and other habilyments off warre
therto belonginge, into the handes, custodye, and possession of
Sir Willyam Ewry, alias Ivers, knight, on the oon partye, and
the said Sir Willyam Ewry, alias Ivers, on the other partye,
witneseth, that the said commissyoners, according to the sayd
commissiion, have reseavyd and delyvered the sayd toune,
K k k 2 castell,

castell, and towre of the Brydge, with all the kayes of the lokks of all the gaites, posterns, as also with all the ordenaunces, municyons, artillarye, and habillyments of warre thereto belonginge, into the handes, custodye, and possession of Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, to the king's use, the 20th daye of January aforesayd. Nevertheles, the said Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, was present and redy, at the said towne of Berwyke, with foure of the said commissioners, at the 12th daye of January aforesayd, according to the effecte of the sayd commission, to have receavyd the said towne, castell, and towre; butt that oonly for the absence of Sir Christopher Moryce at the said 12 daye off January, the delyvery of the sayd towne, castell, and towre, was dyffary'd unto his commyng to the said towne of Berwyke, whych was the 19th daye of January, and so the 20th daye of the said moneth of January the sayd commissioners delyvered to the sayd Syr William Ewers, alias Ivers, the sayd towne, castell, and towre, with all the ordenaunces, municyons, artillarye, and habyllments off warre therto belonginge, as by particuler parcelles hereafter ensuyth, besydes the implements wyche ar conteyned in a cedull unto thys present indentures annexed; That ys to saye fyrste, at the hall doore wth in the said castell, a double cannon of brasse, unmountyd, with seven score and two shotte of iron for the same, two bombardilles of iron, unmountyd, and a chamber of iron for either of the same, with 39 shotte of stoone for the same bombardelles, foure score and five shotte of iron for a demy cannon, 31 stoone shotte and no pece for them; Item in the Bownkell towre, three serpentynes stokkyd and bound with iron with forlookks, and two chambers of iron for every of the same, two sledges of iron, a fowler of iron stokked and bounde with iron, with forlok and syxe chambers for the same,

fame, and upon the hed of the fame towre a faker of brasse of the fyer brande of Homfreys makeinge, mountyd uppon shod whelys, with ladell and sponge, a fawcon of brasse called the Porteculles, of Homfrey's makeinge, mounty'd upon shod whelys, with ladell and sponge. Item in Clayton's towre, thre serpentynes, stokked and bounde with iron, a payre of olde faker whelys bounde with iron, and uppon the fame towre hed a faker of brasse of Scottyshe makeinge, mounty'd upon shod whelys, with ladell and sponge. Item uppon the walles at the bakehouse ende a faker of brasse of Skottyshe makeinge, called the Thyfell, mountyd upon shod whelys, with ladell and sponge, a faucon of brasse of Homfrey's makeinge, mountyd with shod whelys, with ladell and sponge. Item upon the leades over the greate chambar toward the water, a chympney, a cubburde, a little table, twoo trestels, a payr of tongs, a porr, a fyre shovell of iron, 8 lokks, and fyxe keyes for the doores of the fame cham-bars.

Item in the cellar. Two payr of geests of woode, a little armerye, a standynge-board, a lok and a keye for the doer of the fame howse.

Item in the wardrope chambar. Two beddes, and a lok and a keye for the doer of the fame house.

Item in two chambars above the kytchen. Two beds, with a lok and a key for either chambar doer.

Item in the poorters lodge. A stande-bed, a little burde, a fourme, and oon amerye.

Item in the chappell. A cheste with a lok and a keye to the fame, oon olde masse-boke, a longe fourme, a shorte fourme, a bell.

Item in the chappell chamber and the chambar behynde the chappell. 3 bedds, with a lok and a keye for either doer.

Item

Item in two chambers in the dungeon, 6 bedds.

Item in two chambers in the gonners towre. 3 bedds, a long burde, two treitels, a lok and a keye for the doer of either chamber.

Item in the chamber above the West gayte. A bed and a lok and a key for the doer.

Item in the constable chambar, 2 bedds, 2 fourmes, a lok and a key for the dore.

Item in the kytchyn. A greate chymney of iron, a payre of galloes of iron for the fame, thre crooks of iron, 2 greate raks of iron, a porr of iron, 2 spyttis, a small rake of iron, 3 dresseynge bourdes, a payer of mustarde stoones, a panne sett in a fonrys. In the pastry, a greate bourde. In the larder, a bourde, a greate cheste.

Item in the bakehouse. 3 trowes of woode with coverings, two peales, oon iron por, a lok and a keye for the doer.

Item in the brewhouse of the greens. A copper panne, two coop kettelles, a wort trowe, 4 oores, 6 tubbys, an iron porr.

Fawcon of brasfe of the fier brande with oon olde stokke uppon shod whelys, with ladell and spounge. Item upon the olde towre hed, a fawcon of brasfe, of the fyre brande mountyd upon shod whelys. Item in the littel house in the walle besyde Bownkill towre 22 straks of iron for faker whelys, 28 thotte of leade for a fawcon, two bollts of iron with rampaires, and thre houpes of iron, a payre olde faker whelys bounde with iron. Item in the hawke howse, half a laste of gunpowder, 41 black bylls helvyd, 44 byll heeds unhelvyd, 24 thotte of iron for a faker, four thott of iron for a demy culveryn, a greate brasfe mortar, with a pettell of iron for making of powder. Item in the gonner's
chambar

chambar 23 hagbushes of iron, 2 hagbushes of brasfe, 11 chambars for serpentyne, a chambar of iron without a hawll, a stamp of iron with hagbushes wyth a worne at the ende. Item in th' ordonaunce house in the doungeon four score spads, and oon shod with iron, thre score and five schovells shod with iron, 40 pykeaxes helvyd, 53 bowes of yough wraiks, 26 dosyn bowestrings, 27 hoole banelles, and fifty and 7 half banelles of gonnepowder, 15 peece of lettes calteroopes, a barrell full of cole, 14 payr of dowlays for wheles, 23 bolts of iron for ordonaunce, 5 boundes of iron for gonne stokks, a barre of iron for oon axeltre, 5 lyfspynnes of iron, two forlookks for stokk to ordonaunce, a moulde of iron for a serpentyne, thre chaynes of iron, a barre of iron for a windoes, 23 stracks of iron for faker and fawcon whelys, 24 houpes of iron, 3 boxes of iron, two creffetts, fyxe hundredreth shotte of leade for a serpentyne, thre hundredreth shotte of leade for a fawcon, four score shotte of leade for a slang, 16 shotte of leade for a faker, two hundredreth shotte of leade for hagbushes, a greate axeltry. Item in the armery above the hall 9 old fallets, foure payr almane ryvetts good, 15 payr almaine ryvetts rusty and brokyn, fyxe stile gorgets, 5 payre of splents, a barrell and a hawk for a gynne. Item in th' ordonaunce house above the armery, 13 score and 5 sheves of arrocs, 13 hedstalles, 51 horse-collers, 51 olde horse-tracys, a greate hawser, 5 score and 13 moryspykes, thre shevers of brasfe, 11 creffetts of iron, two chefts for arrowys. Item in the towre at th' end of the whyte walle, 8 double hagbushes. Item in the towre of the bridge upon the hed of the same, a serpentyne of brasfe mountyd upon oon olde stok, with shod wheles with iadell and spounge, 12 shott of leade for the same. Item benethe in the same towre, ten hagbushes of iron with tene score shotte of lead for the same,
a sledge

a sledge of iron, 30 shotte of leade for a fawcon, thre trestelles for hagbusshes, a ledder bag wyth powder. In witnesse whereof to the partyes of thiese indentures the sayd commiffyoners and Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, have interchangeably sette their seales and subscribyd with their owne handes the daye and year abovefayd.

Wyllm Ewre .p

Implements of Household remainyng in the King's Castell aforefayd, and delyvered as abovefayd hereafter doith ensue.

Fyrste in the hall. 4 greate standyng tables, with fourmes for either syde of the same, a cubbard, a payre of stokks of wood, a paire of tongs, a fyre shovell of iron.

Item in the little house in the syde of the hall. A bed, with a lok and a keye for the doore of the same howse.

Item in the pantre. A longe bynge of okyn thymbar, with thre particyons, a little armerye of of woode, a little lokker with a shelf of woode, a chypynge-burd, with a lok and a keye for the doore of the same howse.

Item in the buttre. 4 payer of geefts of woode dormint, two payer of geefts movable, a cubburd, with a lok and a key for the door of the same howse.

Item in the great chamber. Two longe tabelles, with two trestelles, 2 fourmes, 3 buffett-stooles, two chayres, a little table, oon iron chympney, a cubburde.

Item in the capitaines chamber, with three other chambers nigh the same. 3 beddes, a cloffe-presse, with a lok and a keye, oon iron.

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E R R A T A.

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63,	2, &c.	Rev. J. D. Carlyle.
63,	25,	IMPeratore Domino Nestro Gordiano.
91,	9,	<i>pinked</i> .
97,	4,	F. A. S.
	9,	oulted.
99,	6,	Corillets and cuirasses.
164, note, 11,		launched.
189,	1,	1709.
212,	3,	London by.

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